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Meksi, Musaraj Receive Italian Delegation

AU2305113795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An Albanian Government spokesman reports that at a special meeting held this morning, Prime Minister Meksi received the Italian Interior Ministry delegation presided over by Deputy Interior Minister Luigi Rossi.

Stressing the Albanian Government's determination to strengthen the measures to prevent and block the movement of clandestine people toward Italy, Prime Minister Meksi underlined the fact that the Italian Government should facilitate the regime of visas, open new consulates, and work for the legalization of Albanian emigrants in Italy and organized seasonal emigration.

Mr. Meksi also pointed out the importance of establishing greater cooperation between the interior ministries of our two countries, increasing the exchange of information between them as well as the assistance rendered by the Italian Government in this field.

We consider the relations with Italy very important and are willing to have greater cooperation in the political and economic fields, as well as in trade, science, culture, and human relations, Prime Minister Meksi said.

Thanking the Albanian Government for its commitment in the fight against clandestine trafficking—but also against crime and drug trafficking in general—Mr. Rossi considered the cooperation between the two governments as very important in order to find possibilities to increase human contacts, legalize emigrants, and facilitate the movement of Albanian citizens.

Interior Minister Agron Musaraj and the Italian ambassador in Tirana, Paolo Foresti, were present at the meeting.

After meeting with Prime Minister Meksi, Italian Deputy Interior Minister Luigi Rossi was received by Albanian Interior Minister Agron Musaraj.

Mr. Musaraj underlined the need to strengthen further cooperation between the two ministries in the spheres of reciprocal interest. Musaraj particularly stressed that the exchange of information in matters of the fight against crime is of primary importance. Musaraj further dwelt on the measures that the Interior Ministry has taken and is taking to prevent clandestine trafficking. The results of these measures have led to minimizing this phenomenon, but also to boosting cooperation and reciprocal assistance.

Mr. Musaraj considered support with technical and logistic aid an indispensable need in the current situation facing the Albanian police.

Italian Deputy Interior Minister Rossi showed himself ready to cooperate in all fields.

During the talks, they discussed an extradition agreement.

The Italian ambassador in the Republic of Albania, Paolo Foresti, also attended the meeting.

Police Antismuggling Measures Said Effective

AU2305105795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 95

[Albanian Interior Ministry Announcement]

[FBIS Translated Text] The police forces in Shkoder and Malesi e Madhe districts continue to control the measures to observe the embargo in this area. Thus, the police have blocked and seized a number of vehicles, sailing tankers, and shipping containers that served to smuggle fuel. The police forces also detained two policemen who had been breaking the duty regulations to help the smugglers: 25-year-old Cun Shaban Suni and 27-year-old Angjelin Zef Miraj, respectively.

The measures taken to control vehicle traffic and the sailing regime have had positive effects in controlling smuggling in this area.

Bulgarian, Turkish Ministers View PKK Activity

AU2305103995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 23 May the interior ministers of Bulgaria and Turkey gave a news conference in Sofia that marked the end of the official visit to Bulgaria of Turkish Interior Minister Nahit Mentese. Our reporter Lyubomir Rozenshtayn reports:

[Begin recording] Bulgaria will not allow the preparation of acts of terror against friendly Turkey on its territory. This was the categorical assurance Prime Minister Videnov and Interior Minister Nachev gave Turkish Interior Minister Nahit Mentese, it was reported at the news conference. Turkey is seriously concerned with the fact that the cells of the Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK] are moving from Western Europe to the eastern part of the continent, and will fight to the end against this terrorist organization, Mr. Mentese said to the reporters.

According to Minister Nachev, there are at present no Kurdish terrorist centers on Bulgarian territory. However, our special services are keeping under surveillance Kurdish citizens in Bulgaria who could be involved in the PKK's activities. The incident that took place at the beginning of the month in front of the Turkish Embassy had been prepared with the participation of a Kurdish center in Germany. Our special services are encountering difficulties in their activity related to the Kurdish issue because of the paucity of information concerning the PKK activists who could be in Bulgaria with passports of other countries' citizens, Minister Nachev said.

The cultural-education and student organizations of the Kurds in Sofia are not terrorist organizations, he added. [end recording]

Russo-Bulgarian 'Special Products' Commission

AU2305072395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian-Russian Intergovernmental Commission on Special Products ended its first session in Sofia today with the signing of a protocol by Gennadiy Voronov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Defense of the Russian Federation, and Kiril Tsochev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

Cooperation Commission Ends Talks With Russia

AU2305085495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 May 95 p 7

[Article by Albena Ivanova: "Bulgaria-Russia: Great Warming in Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The third session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Russian Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation ended yesterday at the Boyana Residence in Sofia. [passage omitted]

The discussions on the fulfillment of the already ratified treaty on mutual debts between Russia and Bulgaria were prolonged and difficult, but no changes are expected for the time being. The disagreements have dragged on for years. The arguments concerned the exact amounts of the debts and how they are to be repaid. The discussions on the conversion factor of the transferable ruble to the dollar were also prolonged. In the final event, at the end of September last year, journalists were told that the figure was "not much more than 75 cents." The determination of the figure was of immense importance for the bilateral debt talks, because the Russians have to repay part of their debts in convertible currency. Our debts in German marks to the Russian banks still remain, and the interest on these has been accumulating for some time. Bulgaria regards these debts as part of its foreign debt. We will pay half of what we owe to the two CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] banks—MIB [expansion unknown] and MBIS [International Bank for Economic Cooperation]—and to the London Club. Deputy Finance Minister Svetoslav Gavriyski is negotiating on these issues in Moscow right now.

During the talks at the Boyana Residence in Sofia, it became clear that the Russian side is ready to discharge its $100-million debt before the end of the agreed three-year term. The debts of about 158 million clearing dollars owed by Russian companies to our exporters will have to be settled as the Russian budget allows, depending on when the Russian side receives money from other debts. Part of the money will be repaid in the form of deliveries of special products and spare parts for the Bulgarian Army.

As observers recall, another thorny issue in bilateral relations concerns the stipulations of the gas supply agreement. The grandiose project to form a mixed Bulgarian-Russian joint stock company in the gas industry with state participation agreed upon last September concealed quite a number of hidden pitfalls. Negotiations were held on the transit of gas from Russia across Bulgaria, its distribution in the Balkans, the laying of gas mains to populated centers and industrial regions in Bulgaria, and the joint export of gas to third countries. On 16 May Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev declared at the Boyana Residence that he had not altered his positions on gas deliveries and would insist on preferential—not market—prices for our gas purchases. The deputy prime minister thinks Bulgaria should be treated as a most-favored-nation in this connection. [passage omitted]

According to Bulgarian statistics, in 1994 our imports from Russia were valued at $1.13 billion, while our exports amounted to $533 million. The Russian figures put the value of our two-way trade at $1.6 billion. (A few years ago, the figure was $14.5 billion.) The Russians say that they supplied to us goods and services valued at $1.2 billion, while our exports to Russia were worth $0.4 billion.

According to a forecast by the Association for Promoting Russian-Bulgarian Cooperation, trade between Bulgaria and Russia is likely to reach $2-2.5 billion in 1995. In 1993, Bulgaria was among Russia's top 20 trading partners, with a share of over 2 percent. Since then, our country has been pushed into the second 20. At the same time, 20 percent of our foreign trade is with Russia. Among the Balkan countries, Bulgaria follows Turkey in its foreign trade links with Russia, and stands in front of Romania, Slovenia, Greece, and Serbia and Montenegro.

Disrupted business, scientific, and technical ties—which previously existed for decades—pose the chief problem both for the Russians and for our own enterprises and trade organizations. The amounts of machinery and engineering equipment imported from Russia into Bulgaria fell from 30 percent of the total in 1990 to 5 percent in 1994. Our own exports to Russia in the same sphere declined from 55 percent of our total exports in 1990 to 17 percent in 1994. Stagnation in investment in both countries has also strongly affected this sector, the report of the above-mentioned association states. [passage omitted]

Commentary Examines Relations With Russia

AU2205131395 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 May 95 p 7

[Commentary by Ivanka Khlebarova: "Coming Closer to Moscow Is in Interest of European Security"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Both Bulgaria and Russia have passed through a complex period in their development and bilateral relations, to today reach a stage where our friendship is based on equality, mutual benefit, respect, and dignity. Hardly anyone doubts the importance of good and comprehensive relations with Russia in the interest of the two nations. During the past five years both we and the Russians became more pragmatic, open, and active in seeking contacts in all directions. However, this did not obliterate our historical relations. They helped us overcome the staggering of small-time politicians, the excessive suspicion of newly hatched democrats, and the naive games of constantly replacing our friends. A period in which politicians, merchants, deputies, and ministers tried to undermine not only our geopolitical but also our trade relations with Russia, is behind us. Led by the Bulgarian sense of realism, we broke off with this period.

The visit of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to our country allows us to confirm the line we selected of relations with Russia, which remains a superpower and without which it is impossible to resolve the problems in Europe.

The war in the former Yugoslavia, expanding NATO to the east, and opening the European economic structures to the former socialist countries are issues that interest Moscow and Sofia equally. Once already, during Yeltsin's visit, we succeeded in convincing him to say "yes" to recognizing Macedonia. Bulgaria's position on noninterference in the Yugo conflict has been assessed highly on many occasions. We have been told that it is our business whether we hurry to become a NATO member, despite the fact that no one is promising us any security. Like us, the Russians think that lifting the European barriers would only serve the interest of nations throughout the continent. Our coming closer to each other on many political issues is a process that must continue, in the interest of the two Slavic nations and in the interest of strengthening European security. In this context, the political talks the Russian prime minister is conducting at the highest level, would be aimed especially toward the future of our bilateral relations under conditions of a united Europe, without borders and barriers.

Article Assesses Russian Arms, NATO Membership

AU2205132795 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 May 95 p 3

[Article by Mikhail Konstantinov and Nikolay Vulchanov: "Treat Russia With Suspicion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian prime minister is visiting Bulgaria. So far so good—especially since he appears to be a normal politician of the Russian post-communist variety, not like the former trembling and marasmic general secretaries of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]—which is today banned—who used to exchange repulsive smacking kisses with our communist gauleiters that disgusted the public. Nevertheless, meetings between Bulgarian and Russian politicians, like relations between Bulgaria and Russia in general, cannot be viewed outside the context of the enduringly burdened historical relations between the two countries.

Throughout its imperial history Russia treated the Bulgarian people and state in a humiliating manner. This was so despite the fact that we gave Russia its alphabet and Christian values! Perhaps that is precisely why they treated us so. Arrogant giants do not like to remember those who do them a favor....

One way or another, in the last 200 years history created plenty of lasting conditions of mutual suspicion in our relations. This truth has been grasped by many honest Bulgarians—unlike the pro-Russian stooges, who almost without exception turned to be agents of the Russian, and later Soviet, secret services.... It was the Bulgarian Communist/Socialist Party that broke all records in selling out our national interests to Russia, which in the last 50 years used to determine everything in our country, including our foreign policy. Thus, now Chernomyrdin will negotiate with Zhan Videnov, a direct descendant of the stooges who twice were about to turn us into a Russian province across the Danube.

One could immediately predict two basic results of the talks: Russia will pay its debt to Bulgaria with weapons, while the Bulgarian defense industry will find itself even more closely related to the Russian (if this is at all possible). This is where it could be seen, according to the old Russian proverb "[when all is said and done] the dog is buried," that our final and complete commitment to the Russian military-industrial complex is just one more expression of Russia's impertinent ban on our NATO membership. Really, if we join NATO we would have to change our weapons. NATO simply has other standards as regards anything related to the quality and caliber of their entire military technology. It appears that if we would eventually become a NATO member (something that ostensibly everyone wants—except the most prominent hardliners of the 100-year-old Bulgarian Socialist Party), we will have to sell our weapons for peanuts to Arab terrorists and similar worthy customers. Naturally, the comrades in our country and Russia will pocket their commissions.

Thus, the interest of Russia, and particularly, Chernomyrdin, is clear: to pay Russia's debt to Bulgaria by marketing their weapons here, and as a pleasant byproduct, to thus turn us into a completely unacceptable candidate for membership in NATO and the EU. Those are also the interests of the national traitors from the leadership of the modern leftist party. And where are Bulgaria's interests? We hope that this is not too difficult a question for presidents, politicians from the opposition, and journalists who have not yet sold themselves.

Official Discusses Military Relations With Russia

AU2205133495 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 17 May 95 p 7

[Interview with Dimitur Mitkov, Bulgarian deputy minister of defense on foreign policy issues, by Tsvetina Bozhinova; place and date not given: "The Imbalance in Military Potential in the Balkans Increased to Bulgaria's Detriment"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Bozhinova] Recently there has been open talk about the imbalance of forces in the Balkan region. What could you say on this issue?

[Mitkov] A treaty was signed 1990. The related negotiations were conducted on a bloc basis. The basic goal was to achieve the lowest collective levels of strike weapons in both blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—that existed back then. Each bloc was allowed to distribute the weapons among its members. Bulgaria was given the right to have 1,457 tanks, 1,750 guns of a caliber higher than 100mm, 2,000 armored cars and infantry combat vehicles, 235 combat aircraft, and 67 specialized strike helicopters. The countries that signed the treaty were given the possibility of increasing the combat possibilities of their Armed Forces through the adoption of new, more highly efficient combat equipment systems. This possibility was utilized by our southern neighbors through the so-called gradual replacement with modern military equipment systems from West Europe's surpluses, while discarding their obsolete equipment for the modern weapons they received. Theoretically, if one simply looks at the absolute figures, there was no violation of the contracted balance. However, the imbalance in the military potential increased. For us, the solution lies in modernizing our weapons by purchasing new and modern kinds of weapons. We will find the necessary funds for this when we overcome the economic crisis. For the time being, we have worked out a long-range modernization program and determined the scope of the means we need for its implementation.

[Bozhinova] How do you assess Bulgarian-Russian relations in the military sphere?

[Mitkov] An agreement between the Bulgarian and Russian defense ministries was signed in 1992. At the beginning of March 1995, an official military delegation led by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov visited Moscow. Naturally, the most attention was devoted to Bulgarian-Russian military relations. The best solutions to the issues in our relations that have not yet been resolved were sought. Two documents were signed that have a special importance for present and future Bulgarian-Russian military relations. In addition, Ministers Pavlov and Grachev signed a plan on military cooperation in 1995 and a plan on coordinating relations in the scientific-technical sphere. As far as the issue of supplying Russian spare parts and aggregates as a means of paying the Russian debt to Bulgaria is concerned, this issue will be clarified at a later stage at the governmental level. We expect that about $50 million of the Russian debt to Bulgaria will be transferred to the Bulgarian Army to resolve the problems of foreign supplies in its interest.

[Bozhinova] Is our military-industrial complex not capable of resolving Bulgaria's problems with weapons and equipment? Are there markets for our weapon producers?

[Mitkov] Our Army has certain kinds of weapons that cannot be produced by our enterprises. We are armed with aircraft, vessels, and other military equipment made in Russia, and we will continue to maintain military-technical cooperation with the Russian Federation. As far as our military-industrial complex is concerned, it is well known that until several years ago, the military enterprises maintained our Army and, one could say, contributed exceptionally to our military budget. Billions of dollars entered our treasury. If markets are secured for our military enterprises in the future, this will influence our entire economy positively. In addition to the traditional markets—the central and East European countries, the CIS countries, and the Arab states—we will also seek new markets. Joint production of domestic and foreign enterprises with guaranteed supplies to third countries appears to be a prospective future realm. If Americans, Russians, and Czechs sell their weapons, why shouldn't we?

[Bozhinova] What is the prospect of Bulgaria's joining NATO and the European security systems?

[Mitkov] There is continuity in our policy in this matter. The National Assembly declaration of December 1993 stressed our intention to join the European and Euro-Atlantic security systems. I could repeat the words of Prime Minister Zhan Videnov: "For Bulgaria, there is no alternative to its integration into the European economic, political, and military organizations and to its coming closer to the Euro-Atlantic structures."

Klaus Sees Need To 'Carefully Weigh' Statements

AU2205133995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 May 95 p 3

["Regular interview" with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 18 May: "We Should Carefully Weigh Every Word We Utter in International Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt) [Passage omitted] [Martinkova] The Russian Embassy protests against the manner in which the Czech media reported on the celebrations of the anniversary of the end of World War II in Moscow. Would you say that this could result in a deterioration of Czech-Russian relations?

[Klaus] It seems unfortunate to me if our relations with Russia deteriorated. I believe that this should not be accepted by any of us. Therefore, it is obvious that we should carefully weigh every word we utter in international politics. That means not to comment in a fundamental manner on matters with which we cannot agree, and the war in Chechnya certainly is such a matter. Thus, the point in question is when, how, and by whom we should make such a statement.

[Martinkova] Do you have any news from Slovakia?

[Klaus] I have no news from Slovakia. [passage omitted]

SCK Proposes Meetings With Left-Wing Parties

AU2305074295 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 95 p 3

[Article by "zaj": "Stepan Proposed a Meeting to the KSCM, the LB, and the SDL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Central Committee of the Party of Czechoslovak Communists (SCK) in a letter to the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], the Left Bloc Party [LB], and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] proposed to conduct informative bilateral meetings. SCK General Secretary Miroslav Stepan told this to a news conference on 17 May.

Referring to an unofficial source from the KSCM Central Committee, Stepan said that the KSCM Executive Committee discussed the letter on 12 May and took an accommodating stance. To the RUDE PRAVO question of whether the SCK will insist on its property claims against the KSCM, Stepan replied that he will "report on them in cultured manner."

KSCM press spokesman Vera Zezulkova confirmed to RUDE PRAVO on 17 May that the KSCM Executive Committee discussed the letter. She denied, however, that it dealt with a specific meeting: "The KSCM will not discuss with any entity any fabricated property claims."

LB Chairman Jaroslav Ortman told RUDE PRAVO that the LB does not consider the talks "productive." According to SDL Deputy Chairman Stanislava Zajicova, the SDL can meet with the SCK representatives. "The SDL does not screen political parties, does not mark them, and does not interfere in their internal affairs," she said.

Meciar Discusses Euroregion Project, Revaluation

AU2305074395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 May 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(er)" and CTK: "Kosice's Too High Demands"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kosice—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and the economic ministers (following their return from visits abroad, S. Kozlik and J. Ducky were also among them), attended a news conference at the municipal offices in Kosice on 19 May. The visit took place on the basis of an invitation from Kosice Mayor Rudolf Schuster. [passage omitted]

Regarding the efforts to incorporate Kosice into the Carpathian Euroregion project, the prime minister said that the government intends to create a free trade zone or a duty-free zone either in part of the three districts immediately bordering Ukraine or in Kosice. Apparently, the Carpathian Euroregion does not correspond to these interests. According to him, it is an organization that is more concerned with propaganda issues than factual performance.

The 4-percent revaluation of the Slovak koruna against the clearing ECU, which was decided by the Slovak National Bank [NBS] on 18 May, is not connected with either the Czech Republic's endeavor to cancel the payments agreement or with the correspondence between the prime ministers, said V. Meciar to CTK. According to him, the revaluation was associated with the sharp rise in Slovakia's balance in the clearing account, which would have reached almost $1.0 billion by the end of May. It became apparent from consultations with the NBS governor that this was happening due to the major speculative purchase of Slovak securities through clearing, said V. Meciar. He added that, in such a case, following the abolition of clearing and the subsequent revaluation of the Slovak koruna against the Czech currency, there would be a risk that the Slovak side would record a loss instead of a profit.

Masar on Revaluation

AU2305075995 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 May 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with NBS Governor Vladimir Masar by Frantisek Raslavsky in Bratislava on 18 May: "Development of Clearing Balance Signaled Slovak Koruna's Revaluation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—In the first four months of the year, monetary policy developed in conformity with the Monetary Program of the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS]. Monetary development has been characterized by a favorable trend of the key monetary indicators, a low level of inflation, and growing foreign exchange reserves. At its meeting yesterday, the NBS Banking Council decided to revalue the Slovak koruna [Sk] in relation to the clearing ECU [XCU] with immediate validity. This decision was made in reaction to qualitative changes in the development of the clearing account. The Sk's new rate has been set at the ratio XCU:ECU = 1.01. [passage omitted]

[Raslavsky] Could you tell us which crucial factors made the NBS revalue the Sk against the XCU?

[Masar] The NBS Banking Council decided today to revalue the Sk against the XCU by 4 percent. The main reasons for this decision lie, on the one hand, in the positive trend in the economic and monetary spheres, which is fully in conformity with the NBS Momentary Program for 1995, and, on the other, in a certain trend that we have been observing in the development of the clearing account this year. In January and February the growth of the [Slovak] surplus on the clearing account was in full conformity with the trends that we had observed toward the end of 1994. During March and April the growth of this surplus greatly accelerated. In May the surplus has been increasing at a rate of 20 to 40 million ECU per day. Information available to us about the development of foreign trade does not explain this dramatic growth of the clearing account surplus. We can assume, therefore, that it is influenced, to a large degree, by entrepreneurial entities' expectations of the Sk's revaluation, which are closely connected with the discussion about the possible abolition of the clearing system and the payments agreement with the Czech Republic as a whole. It is obvious that the influx of speculative capital, too, has played a role in this development and the NBS naturally seeks to prevent such speculative steps in the interest of guaranteeing monetary stability. I have called, therefore, an extraordinary meeting of the NBS Council, which decided to revalue the Sk with immediate effect.

Minister Signs Employment Accord With CR

AU2305084395 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 May 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Without Work Permits"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak Republic citizens do not need work permits in the Czech Republic [CR]. Their Czech employer registers them at a labor office, which issues them confirmation of registration. Based on this, the Slovak Interior Ministry will permit them to reside in the Czech Republic. They can also complete a registration card for short-term employment in the Czech Republic. This ensues from a protocol between the Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family and the Czech Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which has been signed by Ministers Olga Keltosova and Jindrich Vodicka.

Luxembourg Foreign Minister Holds News Conference

LD2205213495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is one the European mini countries. Luxembourg, however, apart from Brussels and Strasbourg, is one of the most significant centers influencing the policy of the European Union, as well as the policy of accepting new members. This theme was prevalent during the visit today of Jacques Francois Poos, Luxembourg deputy prime minister and foreign minister. He met President Michal Kovac, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, and Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Igor Skocek reports:

[Skocek] Following the meeting with Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, the two foreign ministers held a news conference in the Borik Hotel. Jacques Francois Poos expressed satisfaction that he had been able to visit the Slovak Republic today as the first official Luxembourg politician. [passage omitted] The main topic today was the European orientation of Slovakia.

[Poos in English fading into Slovak translation] Two things became clear after the talks with your highest political representatives. First, the European orientation which you have chosen is not in question in any way and by anybody. Despite political events, despite the election and other changes, the current government is not questioning this choice, that is the choice of integration into the European structures, above all the European Union, NATO, and the Western European Union. I think that Slovakia, from the geopolitical viewpoint, has no other alternative, Francois Poos added.

He continued by saying that, second, we have the impression that the degree of the internal preparation of Slovakia for the process of integration and this transitional period has progressed a lot. It may be much further than in some other countries of Central Europe. This has also been confirmed by your premier. Not only does the economy have to be prepared for European integration; one has to prepare the mentality of the people, to think geared toward educational processes, and to concentrate on young people at schools and universities.

As to the efficiency of the economy, from the viewpoint of macroeconomics, Slovakia has made clear successes. If you continue along this path with the same enthusiasm as you have so far, if you continue reducing inflation and unemployment, by the end of the century, you will be able to fulfill the main criteria concerning the European Currency Union stated in the Maastrich treaty.

[Skocek] Luxembourg, too, has undergone great changes in the economy and industry in the past 15 years. The country had to restructure the entire sector of metallurgy and concentrate on other industries, such as financial services. We asked the Slovak foreign minister if questions of exchanging experience in this sphere have been discussed.

[Begin Schenk recording] Not directly. In the first phase we were concerned with two things: First, we noted that there is a relatively low volume of trade exchange. It is approximately 350 million-360 million korunas, which is very little, and we would like to increase it during the first step. Moreover, Slovakia has a passive balance there, which is disadvantageous for us. We would like to initiate contacts on the level of trade and industry chambers, to present possible projects reciprocally, and so on.

The second step is a revision of the contractual base. Agreements exist which have continued to be valid after the former federation, they were concluded in 1934 or so, in other words, they are unsuitable today. We would like to rearrange our relations in the sphere of customs.

We think that the question of some kind of inspiration by this Luxembourg mistake could be considered as the next step. [end recording]

Mochovce Nuclear Plant Situation Reviewed

AU2305114095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 May 95 p 1

[Article by Olga Prekopova: "Tension at Building Site of Mochovce Nuclear Power Plant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mochovce—Only a week ago, during his news conference while sailing to Gabcikovo, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar confirmed the Slovak side's intention to have the Mochovce nuclear power plant completed by an international consortium made up of French Electricite de France (EdF), German Siemens, Czech Skoda, and the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy as a model for the reconstruction of other nuclear power plants of Soviet design.

At approximately the same time, reports about the dismissal of four members of the Slovenske Elektrarne [Slovak Power Company; SE] Board of Directors started spreading among the public. On Tuesday, 16 May, they were joined by two high-ranking officials of the Slovak

Ministry of Economy. According to a REUTER agency report, the wave of dismissals surged amidst controversy over financing the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant and most likely affected those who supported the funding of the project's completion from Western resources, that is, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] and EdF project. How is all this reflected in the atmosphere at the building site directly at Mochovce? "Most of our 1,800 employees are apathetic, disgusted, and do not care where the money for completion comes from. The only thing they want is finally to start work," Augustin Hacaj, who is in charge of the Department for International Cooperation and Public Relations, told us at Mochovce yesterday. The EdF—whose 60 experts for design work and the conclusion of contracts for the project's completion had moved with their families to Levice district in December 1993 to work, together with our specialists, in the PROJECT MANAGEMENT organization—is of a different opinion, however. Immediately after the Slovak Government's request to the EBRD that it postpone its decision on the Mochovce loan, the EdF experts left Mochovce. They are most likely on leave but, according to available information, some have already returned to France. According to Augustin Hacaj, the state of general tension and nervousness at Mochovce is heightened not only by the necessity to permanently justify the size of the labor force deployed at the building site, where nothing is happening at the moment, but, in particular, by the search for work that would "feed" the colossus in this transitory period. Everyone is waiting for "D-Day," when a decision on the completion of Mochovce will be made with full responsibility.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 19 May on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "eta" entitled "No Personnel Changes at Mochovce Nuclear Power Plant." According to the report, the recent dismissal of four SE and three Ministry of Economy officials "caused probably by Ministry of Economy objections to their negotiations with West European partners on the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant" has not been followed so far by any personnel changes in the management of the Mochovce nuclear power plant itself. Augustin Hacaj, head of the Public Relations Department at Mochovce, is quoted as having told SME reporters that "no replacements or dismissals have been registered" at Mochovce and that Marian Sip, the Mochovce director, "continues to conduct extensive talks with all partners interested in the completion of Mochovce."]

Meciar, Union Leader Resolve Partnership Dispute

AU1905182195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 May 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Anna Korimova: "Alojz Englis: We Dissociate Ourselves From Political Disputes; Vladimir Meciar Holds Talks With Trade Union Representatives"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Alojz Englis, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ], declared on 15 May that the government had violated the agreement on social partnership and a number of valid legislative norms, including the law on collective bargaining, when it conducted talks with a group of employers headed by Miroslav Pius. The KOZ president also accused the government of seeking to break up the confederation. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar initiated a meeting with KOZ representatives yesterday to clarify the situation.

After the meeting, Meciar said: "We confirmed respect for each another and for the social partnership, as well as our interest in this partnership lasting four years. The KOZ representatives have assured us that they will not become involved in [illegible] political disputes. We have also agreed to hold two more meetings by 30 June. The first meeting will be devoted to the implementation of the General Agreement and the second, involving individual ministers and the KOZ Presidium, will assess cooperation to date. This meeting will be similar to that of 6 January." [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar went on to stress that they agreed on the expediency of a public debate on amending the Labor Code, adding that the amendment would be more extensive than originally expected. They also agreed on revising the implementation of privatization plans. Not only the privatization concept is to be revised, but also its realization from the point of view of its lucidity, transparency, and meeting of targets. Vladimir Meciar said, furthermore: "We appreciated the confederation's accommodating attitude and expressed our interest in the confederation being a strong and stable partner."

KOZ President Alojz Englis said after the meeting that his protest of 15 May, which had its justification, in his opinion, has essentially been resolved. [passage omitted] "I believe that many problems can be settled with such a meeting. We declared, therefore, that we dissociate ourselves from any political disputes. We do not intend to let ourselves be dragged into them," he said. [passage omitted]

Meciar Interview on Employers Association

AU2205131595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 95 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Milan Stanislav and Marta Moravcikova in Bratislava on 17 May: "Is a New Employers Association Taking Shape?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PRAVDA] Mr. Prime Minister, how did the government react to the trade unions' protest against violation of the General Agreement?

[Meciar] This protest concerned our talks with representatives of the department of education. There are three parties within each department. In addition to the minister and the trade union representative, Mr. Vajnorsky, whom we respect, there should also be a third partner in education, represented by the association of employers. The group with which we conducted talks represented this third partner. In other words, we do not perceive this group as an alternative to the trade unions. This is a third partner, one that did not legally exist before, and that will negotiate with the trade unions and the government. We will accept it as such, as a representative of employers and a third partner. There is also an analogous situation in health care.

[PRAVDA] Was the commotion caused by your meeting with Mr. Pius just unnecessary noise?

[Meciar] I think so. Even in the television program, where he sat next to Mr. Vajnorsky, Mr. Pius clearly said that he was representing employers. He did not represent trade unions, which is why there was no violation of any principles on the part of the government. A new group of employers is taking shape, who want to be heard and to become a new partner at the negotiating table. We welcome the existence of this group. If this group is not an alternative to the trade unions, in that case the trade unions, too, will be able to accept it as a partner.

Keleti Interviewed in U.S. on NATO Admission

AU2305073595 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 May 95 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by Oszkar Fuzes in Washington; date not given: "Help From Washington for the Army—Gyorgy Keleti Talked About the Experiences of His U.S. Talks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The defense minister, who held talks on bilateral military relations and NATO accession, experienced, in Washington, sympathy, trust, and a readiness to help. At the end of the talks, Gyorgy Keleti celebrated Hungarian Army Day at our Washington Embassy together with 250 high-ranking U.S. and foreign guests. Then he assessed his visit in an interview with NEPSZABADSAG.

[Keleti] We were able to exchange views as equal partners on NATO accession, and the U.S. view that Hungary can gain membership if NATO is expanded has become stronger. The Hungarian Government's activities in the areas of military reform and army development are viewed with sympathy in the United States—in fact, they even held out the prospect of giving financial assistance. After the Washington talks, I met Hungarians in Cleveland. Then we reviewed our contacts with the Ohio National Guard—they offered further cooperation in education and health areas. We gained fascinating impressions during our visit to the Norfolk headquarters, and we made concrete plans for a Hungarian platoon to participate in a military exercise here in August. We need the parliament's approval for this, and if we can achieve this, then the exercise will probably be of historical significance for us: some 40 Hungarian soldiers in a NATO unit on U.S. territory. The number is small but the prospects are large....

[Fuzes] Have factors hindering our NATO membership or disturbing bilateral relations been raised?

[Keleti] They have in the sense that I was directly asked about Hungarian-Romanian relations. The U.S. side acknowledged with satisfaction that we can consider Hungarian-Romanian military ties to be exemplary and, in fact, the parliament is discussing the plans to further develop them. Another issue: We know that the United States considers democratic civilian control over the Army important. They approve of our reform of the military forces. In agreement with preserving Hungarian traditions, they support the establishment of a modern army structure. They acknowledge that change requiring expenditure is a longer process in our case.

[Fuzes] Did you notice any lack of trust because many former communist officers, including yourself, have been placed back into the ministry and the Army's leadership?

[Keleti] No, I have not experienced any such thing; rather, I was given a very open and friendly reception. I myself told them that we are about to implement a change of generation. Many of our talented young officers completed their studies at Western educational establishments and they will be placed in adequate positions by the end of next year. We have set this deadline because we have assessed the age structure of the current leadership. Through reaching retirement age rather than through political considerations, the change of generation can also be implemented by the end of next year in the Army's most important leadership positions. This will not be some kind of campaign—those officers who, in the coming 12 to 18 months, using their more modern knowledge also give proof of their human integrity and patriotism, in addition to their expertise, will be given an opportunity.

[Fuzes] Does complete confidence between the U.S. and Hungarian Armies exist? Are we still spying on each other?

[Keleti] Naturally, this is a delicate area, but not because I would need to deny anything. We are not conducting any kind of intelligence activities. In fact, very good cooperation exists between the organizations controlling military diplomacy and influencing confidential areas.

[Fuzes] Does it cause any problems from the viewpoint of our NATO accession that we have Soviet weapons and we are buying further Russian equipment?

[Keleti] I have not noticed such concern. I informed them that we plan to get Russian weapons in exchange for the former Soviet debt, possibly by the end of the summer. The Americans agreed that we need this technical modernization. They do not object to us acquiring land-based military technological equipment—for example, armored vehicles.

[Fuzes] In theory, we have for a while had the possibility of buying weapons from the United States. Are we using this facility?

[Keleti] I have held talks with the official dealing with the weapons of U.S. forces that have been withdrawn from Europe. Some of these will be sold, not because they are old but to reduce the arsenal. We agreed to compare our needs and financial possibilities with the stock they are to sell.

[Fuzes] Let us suppose that NATO will be willing to accept Hungary by the turn of the century. Can the Hungarian Army be prepared by then?

[Keleti] From a military point of view, the Army will meet the basic requirements in two to three years. Naturally, full integration takes a longer time. NATO has 16 members at the moment, and much depends on them, too. However, the U.S. visit shows that we can realistically expect Hungary to become a full NATO member before the turn of the century.

Officials View Defense Industry Privatization

LD2205141895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [First Announcer] As we cannot join the EU with empty pockets, we cannot join NATO with paper hats and plastic swords, either. Hungary's military integration requires the installment of a military technology that complies with NATO standards, while sovereignty demands that a part of the military products be produced in Hungary. In order to make the military industry economically viable, the government is now looking for investors from the industry in order to privatize it:

[Second announcer] The military industry, which provides services and spare parts for the Army's equipment, is rather weak. The 60 companies that supply the Army with goods—which are often on the verge of bankruptcy—have not been able to build their survival on military orders for years. At the same time, government regulations oblige them to reserve a part of their production capacity for military purposes.

Last year, only 60 percent of the sales revenue of Goedoelloe Communications Technology Joint Stock Company [Gedoelloei Kommunikacios Technikai Reszvenytarsasag] was generated by orders from the Army. This is why the company is trying to keep its staff by producing post boxes.

[Begin recording of Colonel Mihaly Kucsera, chairman of ARM-COM Joint Stock Company] We used to install equipment for ambulances, produce satellite dishes, and install mobile and fixed radio-telephone stations and microwave aerials. [end recording]

The Defense Ministry is now trying to keep its five military joint stock companies in business through privatization. The only question is whether they will manage to bring these companies, which are fully owned by the state, into a position where they can become attractive to investors.

[Begin recording of Lajos Erdelyi, Defense Ministry spokesman] Like any company awaiting privatization, these companies will also have to be upgraded. This upgrading will not necessarily be done with money, since we have hardly any resources for it. However, we will have to try it, through internal reorganization and with other techniques. [end recording]

The success of privatization can also be doubtful if we look at the failed privatization deal of Diosgyoer Arms Manufacturer [Diosgyoeri Fegyevergyar], or the uncompleted liquidation procedure of the Pest Region Engineering Works. The latter, which is producing combat aircraft and helicopters, has been in a deep crisis for five years, following privatization tenders invited unsuccessfully on several occasions.

Even if we manage to attract investors, the Defense Ministry will still have to decide whether it should inject any capital into the industry to keep 51 percent of the votes in state hands, or whether it should keep its good image in the eyes of both America and Russia by changing the technology.

[Begin Erdelyi recording] We cannot really rely on a financial investor. We are going to look for investors from the industry. A financial investor will not bring in new technology, new hardware, or know-how. [end recording]

[Begin recording of Colonel Janos Turak, Defense Economy Faculty] The role of capital in the management and organization of industrial production is more beneficial than the state's role. This is primarily a business activity, and interests such as defense policy, national sovereignty, and the need for an independent, domestic background to supply the Army can only be taken into consideration as a secondary aspect. [end recording]

Participants in the Hungarian military industry are afraid that privatization will not solve the industry's problems because, in order to meet the quality standards required for our admission to NATO, the Defense Ministry will maintain the proportion of imports and domestic production at the level of 70 to 30 percent, respectively.

[Begin recording of Jenoe Laszlo, former chairman of the Military Industry Office] A country's military technology and army will become defenseless if it buys everything from abroad. Let us consider an embargo in a tense situation. What could we do then? [end recording]

The ministry is not even promising to increase orders after the end of the privatization process, which is planned to last for two to three years.

[Begin recording of Gabor Juhasz, department head at the Defense Ministry] Nobody can provide real guarantees, because the Defense Ministry's budget is approved by the parliament, and bearing in mind the country's economic situation, I think that our budget will not increase in real terms for two to three years. What we can hope, perhaps, is that it will not significantly drop. [end recording]

Silajdzic Terms Serb Unification 'Waste of Time'

LD2205220595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliament of the so-called Serb Krajina last weekend endorsed a decision to unite with the Pale phantom republic, on condition that this will not harm Serbia, where reports on the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina have increasingly and clearly been emerging. Here is what Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic thinks about these developments:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] [Words indistinct] will recognize the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina—this is the only path to peace and the first step toward peace. This will happen.

On the other hand, this so-called unification of the so-called self-styled states is yet another in a series of manipulations of the Serbs in occupied territories. This is yet another promise that is not going to be fulfilled. I hope that the Serbs in occupied territories, who are citizens of this state, will muster enough strength to turn toward the real project—the project of coexistence in this state [words indistinct]. The project of greater Serbia has obviously been defeated, and now they are just trying to patch it up.

In my opinion, this primarily amounts to the manipulation of the population in occupied areas. Two illegal creations can only create yet another illegal creation and nothing else. This is purely a waste of time—the deception of the Serb population with promises which will come to nothing. As I said, I hope—it seems to me—that a time will come when the Serbs in occupied territories, who are citizens of this state, will turn toward coexistence in this area, together with the Bosniaks, Croats, and other nations. [end recording]

Submits Report to Assembly

LD2105133495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic submitted the report on the government's work over the past three months. He stressed that the government focused on the revival of production. The energy supplies are satisfactory. The production of electricity, especially in hydroelectric plants, has exceeded the planned consumption because of insufficient consumption in industry. However, we can be satisfied with the industrial production, which has recorded an increase, Silajdzic said. He added that the results of the spring sowing were satisfactory too.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] A great deal of time and energy has been invested in meeting the planned targets for the spring sowing. We have so far sown around 75 percent of the planned land. We estimate that the plans for the spring sowing will be fully met by the end of the month. The report goes into great detail of what has been done in that sphere, especially concerning the supply of seeds to the surrounded enclaves.

The situation in industry has improved considerably compared to the same period last year. The results achieved in industrial production are much higher than in 1994, regardless of which figures are compared. If the results in April are compared to the average monthly production last year, they are 162.7 percent higher. Compared to the production in April 1994, they are 215.4 percent higher. The level of industrial production between January and April this year is 171.9 percent higher than the production in the same period last year. A particularly good indication is that the production in April is 17 percent higher than March 1995.

These results are encouraging. If this trend of increased industrial production keeps up, we could say with certainty that the plan for 1995 will be met.

The government will continue to take measures that can produce a positive effect on industrial production, such as financial support, concessions in the acquisition and import of raw materials, highly qualified workforce, and so on.

There has been the positive trend of our firms being engaged in investment work abroad this year. Despite the fact that the first four months in a year are in fact only the beginning of the construction season, the value of the construction work carried out by our firms in that period amounts to 30 million German marks, with reliable indication of a further increase. [end recording]

We need to define clearly now (?what kind) of reconstruction and development we want to achieve, and the government is successfully working on this, Silajdzic went on to say. The public income has a positive trend. The largest part of the budget is allocated to the Army, and the sources of logistical support are stable. The preparations for the return of refugees are also the focus of the government's attention. This is a complex but essential task and, in addition to the government and the presidency, all institutions should get involved in solving it, Silajdzic said.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The fact is that more than 60 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's population had to leave their homes and [word indistinct] our refugees have found refuge in more than 100 countries throughout the world. This clearly speaks about the aims and nature of the aggression, and about the destructive consequences of the aggression on our Republic.

The war has entered its fourth year and it is really difficult to estimate for how long it will go on, although we are continually working on restoring peace. We should objectively recognize that with every day, and every year of the war that goes by, the percentage of refugees who will return to Bosnia-Herzegovina is falling considerably. This is part of the strategy of ethnic cleansing, which is aimed at the permanent alteration of the demographic structure in order to create new political realities.

We must respond to this policy by starting, as soon as possible, the process of the organized return of people to the country. The report I submitted shows that the government is intensively working on this. It is important that the refugees and displaced persons (?return). It is normal that people, especially young people, should make plans for their lives and take steps to realize these plans wherever they are. In making these plans, they should count on their country's readiness to make possible and encourage their return. [end recording]

In conclusion, Prime Minister Silajdzic recalled that the third anniversary of our country joining the United Nations will be marked on 22 May. He said that he believed the government has strengthened Bosnia-Herzegovina's position in the international community and that in its state policy it respected the universal values of our time—human beings, human rights, peace, and democracy.

Ganic: 'Victory Is Just a Matter of Time'

BR2305082595 Madrid ABC in Spanish 21 May 95 p 50

[Interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by special correspondent Simon Tecco in Jablanica; date not given: "Ejup Ganic: 'We Have No Allies, Only Concerned Friends, Who Do Not Assist'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jablanica (central Bosnia)—*The meeting with Ejup Ganic in the city of Jablanica, shortly after leaving the besieged Sarajevo, was unexpected. The danger there has been considerable, especially since the Bosnian Serb troops isolated the Bosnian capital again, placing the Igman road under fire and forcing the United Nations to close its airport. Not in vain; shortly afterward, the terrible fighting of years ago resumed in the city.*

[Tecco] The international community's pressure for extending the cease-fire was enormous. Is there any possibility of reaching a new agreement?

[Ganic] We have already signed many, which should have guaranteed us a situation of peace in Sarajevo. The international community should press [Bosnian Serb President] Karadzic and [Serbian President] Milosevic to respect them—especially Milosevic. If he were to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, we would renew the cease-fire agreement, because in that case the Serb occupation could no longer be a definite fact. Karadzic's Serbs could not continue to believe that they will keep for ever the territories which they have won, but, under current conditions, if we had extended the cease-fire agreement, Karadzic would have believed that he had secured another four months again and that he could secure another period without difficulties later. The situation would develop in accordance with the Cyprus prescription. That is why we did not wish to renew it.

[Tecco] People here say that the Bosnian Army is preparing to launch another offensive which will make it possible to liberate Sarajevo.

[Ganic] These rumors have been circulating, and with good reason, for three years. When we can liberate Sarajevo, we will do so.

[Tecco] Will it be soon?

[Ganic] I do not believe so. We need weapons; we are not yet strong enough. We have asked the international community to help us break the blockade of Sarajevo and liberate the enclaves, but so far we have had to do everything on our own, with our own resources. We have planned no major offensive for the first few days of May. We will confine ourselves to low-intensity operations. We cannot do great things yet.

[Tecco] What is the degree of cooperation between the Bosnian Army and the Croat units of the HVO (Croatian Defense Council)?

[Ganic] The Bosnian Army and the HVO are acting jointly on the Brcko front, and they have had success. A section of the front covered by the HVO is under heavy Serb pressure, and the Bosnian Army is giving them assistance where necessary.

[Tecco] How is the Croat-Bosnian confederal process developing?

[Ganic] It is moving forward... There are many problems, but the federation is gradually coming into being. The extremists are gradually losing ground. Of course, they are still very strong, but some day they will take the money which they have amassed and leave for another country. Also each day there are more Croats in favor of the federation, simply because there is no other possibility. The partitioning of Bosnia would be a very dangerous game because many other European countries suffer from the same disease as ourselves.

[Tecco] Do you hope for assistance from the United States?

[Ganic] I hope for diplomatic support—not military assistance.

[Tecco] There are those who assert that the Americans will very soon lift the arms embargo on the Sarajevo government. Do you believe that it really will do so?

[Ganic] I hope so. If the Contact Group's peace plan does not succeed, the lifting of the embargo on the sale of arms is the only option left.

[Tecco] After three years of war, do you still believe that it will be possible to save the country?

[Ganic] Yes. I believe that Bosnia will survive as a country. I believe that we will save our state. Of course, it will take time to do so, but we have everything in our favor. We have an Army, and they will not be able to defeat us again. Victory is just a matter of time.

Bosnia Will Survive

[Tecco] So you do not believe that Bosnia will be divided?

[Ganic] No. In the first place, because we have succeeded in organizing a resistance. Our Army is now strong enough not to have to accept the country's division. Second, the international community will encounter problems if it accepts borders being changed militarily, since that would mean that any fool who wishes to have his own state could set it up, and a process of this kind would be endless. Therefore they will support us. They will talk like the academics and say that they support Bosnia, but in fact they will be defending the principle of not changing borders, in order to avert future complications in other areas or regions.

[Tecco] What will be the effect of the war crime trials of Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic which the The Hague Tribunal wishes to conduct?

[Ganic] It is the Serbs who will have to worry about the effects. The indictment is a great step forward, but, at the same time, it is a small step for the international community. I believe that this is primarily a warning for the others. The war crimes will not be forgotten; those who have committed them will find themselves, sooner or later, before the courts.

[Tecco] It is known more or less who your enemies are. Who are your allies?

[Ganic] We have no military allies. We have only friends who are concerned, but do not assist sufficiently. All those who cannot assist us militarily are on our side, while those who could assist us declare themselves neutral.

LBO Leader on Serbs' Need To Join Federation

AU2205163395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 May 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on an LBO press conference in Sarajevo on 22 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a brief opening address, Muhamed Filipovic, president of the Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO] [words indistinct] of fundamental political problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Filipovic stressed that he had spoken to Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic in Novi Travnik and that talks had also recently been held with Federation President Kresimir Zubak and members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

There should be a conference of political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina to address the causes and effects of the war and the search for a way out of the crisis, which would surmount all the difficulties and differences among the political parties. The conference should be a political counselling session with a view into the future, which should lay down the foundations for the new constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a democratic and parliamentary state.

Moreover, a way has to be found out of the situation in which others are solving our problems. The LBO believes that we have to find our own solution and then present it to the international community. Academician Filipovic believes that the political climate for such an attempt is evolving. Moreover, the conference should also review the Serbian issue and [words indistinct] reintegration of our society in which everyone must be given a chance. The Bosnian Serbs should be made to join the federation project either through political, military, diplomatic, or other means, Muhamed Filipovic said at the end of the conference.

Banja Luka Bishop Requests Tudjman's Assistance

LD2305084395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 23 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the republic Franjo Tudjman has received a letter from Franjo Komarica, bishop of Banja Luka, in which Komarica informed him in great detail about the dramatic position of the Croat Catholics in his bishopric.

Komarica said that around 80,000 Croats have lost most of their elected political representatives, and with them the basic protection and political orientation. They have also been stripped of the basic human rights, such as the right to life, home, work, social and health services, and so on. Bishop Komarica said that priests, friars, nuns, and the bishop himself have assumed the burden and responsibility for the powerless and unprotected people in the Banja Luka region.

He also recalled that more than 55,000 Catholics have been forced to leave their homes temporarily. They have gone to Croatia or to other European countries, and some even overseas. Around 27,000 Catholics—most of them Croats—have remained in the Banja Luka bishopric. Their peaceful presence has inspired all those who were evicted before with a certain hope. Bishop Komarica said that this hope is now vanishing fast. The Catholic Church and the Croatian people in the Banja Luka bishopric are under threat of a long-term destruction.

Bishop Komarica addressed the Croatian president requesting urgent, concrete, and effective assistance.

Karadzic on Prospects for Peace, Serb Unity

Views Contact Group's Plan

LD2305084095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 23 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 23 May (SRNA)—We would like the Security Council to know that we are ready to accept the Contact Group's plan as "the basis for the resumption of the peace process," Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, told SRNA in Banja Luka last night.

In reaction to the UN Security Council's decision last night to extend the sanctions against the Serb republic, President Karadzic said that the Serb proposals "are not all that different from the Contact Group's proposals, and our stances could be coordinated."

"The fact is that the plan contains several elements that are unimportant for the other side but absolutely crucial for us. These elements could be changed if the mediators show good will to do that. That is the stance of our assembly and our people," Karadzic specified.

Jean-Bernard Merimee, president of the Security Council, said in New York yesterday that the sanctions against the Serb republic will not be eased unless it accepts the Contact Group's plan.

Peace 'Before End of Year'

AU2205110695 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 May 95 pp 141-142

[Unattributed interview with Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic; place and date not given: "'Throw the Germans Out'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] The International War Crimes Tribunal is investigating you on allegations of genocide. You are accused of being responsible for the deaths of thousands of civilians and the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Croats. Will you go to The Hague to defend yourself?

[Karadzic] The judges in The Hague are inventing stupid things, probably because they are bored, and they want to make me a scapegoat. What a disgrace it is for the international community to blame only us Serbs for the war! There are others who are to blame for the current crisis: the then foreign ministers of Germany, Austria, and Italy, Messrs. Genscher, Mock, and De Michelis.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you seriously saying that the West has advocated, or even ordered, internment camps?

[Karadzic] Our policy has always been correct. We have only had camps for soldiers, never for civilians. If some of the guards violated the laws, we will certainly charge them—before our own courts.

[DER SPIEGEL] You deny the violent expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Bosnians from their homes? Mass rapes?

[Karadzic] Please, find me 100 children who were born to raped mothers, then I will plead guilty. As far as ethnic cleansing is concerned, for which we are being blamed: There are more Serbian refugees in Bosnia than Muslim and Croat ones together. People are fleeing out of fear; that is normal in a war.

[DER SPIEGEL] The United Nations has different figures. And it is well known that your guerrilla troops deliberately create fear with their terrorism.

[Karadzic] These are not my people, these are extremists. Put yourself in the position of a Serb who has had to flee from central Bosnia. He will, quite rightly, be furious with Muslims and Croats. Of course, I condemn retaliation. But I cannot keep all the embittered refugees under control.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does that mean that you do not want to change your policy and are sticking with a Greater Serbia? Do you still reject the international peace plan that provides for a division of Serbia—49 percent for the Serbs, 51 for the Croats and Muslims?

[Karadzic] I will not betray my people. The International Contact Group for Bosnia is ineffective and is only concerned with itself. The Germans are taking sides with the Muslims and Croats. They are trying to tell the group of mediators what to do. They are counterproductive. The Germans should be thrown out by all means!

[DER SPIEGEL] On what conditions would you be prepared for peace?

[Karadzic] There have been new approaches. An ad hoc group of intellectuals and retired politicians who are close to the U.S. Administration has formed. Their proposal is: Constitute Bosnia as a union of two sovereign states, like Germany and France in the EU. I consider this an acceptable compromise for us Serbs; Jimmy Carter could perhaps negotiate it. These two states could be administrated by a council of ministers as a kind of superior government. But, with this model, we would demand the exchange of a couple of territories.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you really think that group, which is entirely unknown so far, is in a position to pacify Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Yes, I am confident that such a peace agreement will be signed before the end of this year.

[DER SPIEGEL] How is the Bosnian Government under President Alija Izetbegovic to be won over to such an idea?

[Karadzic] He has no other choice. He cannot massacre our nation, and we will never accept his Muslim state. Everything depends on the United States. If Washington approves of the plan, then the government in Sarajevo will also have to swallow it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Some time ago, you fell out with your patron and longtime benefactor, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic might soon recognize Bosnia under international law to achieve the complete lifting of the international sanctions against Belgrade. Does this make you bitter?

[Karadzic] I would not have minded Milosevic recognizing Bosnia at an earlier stage either. The international community has recognized Bosnia, but we do not mind that. Do not let us forget that Bosnia is not a sovereign state at the moment. It is I who have power over more than 70 percent of the territory here, not Izetbegovic.

[DER SPIEGEL] A secret meeting is said to have taken place between mediators of Bosnian President Izetbegovic and those of Belgrade Serbian leader Milosevic. Will you be completely isolated soon?

[Karadzic] There has, indeed, been some rapprochement between Belgrade and Sarajevo. Milosevic has tried to mobilize members of my assembly against me. But he has not had much success. Only six of the 84 deputies have taken part in that—the political resistance against me is insignificant.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you also calm in view of the prospect of the United Nations withdrawing its 24,000 troops from Bosnia and leaving the battlefield to the warring parties?

[Karadzic] We do not demand the withdrawal of the UN blue helmets, but we would welcome it. If our positions are attacked by NATO bombers again, the blue helmets will be our hostages. And if the UN protection zones are not demilitarized by the Muslims, we will take them all by force, including Sarajevo.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you not overdoing your war adventures? The Croats and Bosnians are currently dealing severe blows to the Serbs on many sectors of the fronts.

[Karadzic] We can reverse these insignificant conquests quickly. But we do not want more territory than we have currently. We do not want to enlarge our state and have a Muslim minority in it. That would entail more unrest, and we would have another war within five years.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your allied Krajina Serbs suffered a heavy blow in Croatia at the beginning of May. The Croatian Army reconquered western Slavonia within a few days. Are you not concerned about this counteroffensive?

[Karadzic] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman wants a Greater Croatia, Izetbegovic wants a Muslim state. There is only one answer to that: We Serbs will have to unite in a state as soon as possible. The Belgrade government must and will make it up with us in Pale. What will the world do against this? Who will dare attack us then?

Political, Military Situation

LD2205214095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 May (SRNA)—[Bosnian] Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic expressed fear in Banja Luka today that the fall of western Slavonia and the expulsion of the local Serb population would be considered as the most important event in Serb history this century.

Speaking about the international position of the [Bosnian] Serb republic at a session of the main committee of the the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands, Karadzic stressed that "all ventures by the Serb republic political leadership are being postponed because of the West's hope that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will recognize former Bosnia-Herzegovina within its communist borders."

"The West does not wish to talk to us because it believes that talking to Belgrade would be cheaper. It is catastrophic that the Serb policy is not being pursued in a synchronized way," the president said adding:

"Serbia's recognition of Bosnia would represent a moral blow for the Serb republic, which will then be labelled as the main culprit in the war, because everyone will ask why Serbia did not do it in 1991.

"Current developments show that a military victory is insufficient, because in addition to a military success, political and state unity must be secured; it cannot be achieved as long as an important segment of the Serb nation—Serbia—is unwilling to do so."

According to the president, all Muslim offensives against the Serb borders have been crushed, and the Serb army in Posavina and on Mount Treskavica has the upper hand; tactical positions near Teslic have been improved, and a Muslim attack in Sarajevo has been checked.

Commenting on the latest developments around Bihac, Karadzic stressed that it is shameful that a loss of territory again occurred in this area without fighting and that local commands were to blame for it; however, the situation has now stabilized.

In line with a decision made by the people's assembly, the general staff of the Serb army and some commands will be restructured soon, the Serb president said. He added that there is a need to form special brigades incorporating shock troops.

The president paid special attention to nonnationalistic left-wing parties, which "destroy people's morale, strangle Serb national forces, and hand them over to local regimes in Croatia and former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Serbs are facing treason, and the outcome of the struggle of nonnationalistic left-wing parties is intrigue, lies, and mistrust between the people and the local authorities, and between civilian and military representatives.

"Our enemy's goal is to topple this government and to instal another one, not because it is good or bad but because it does not want to endorse the Contact Group's plan," Karadzic stressed. He added:

"We are aware—and we were told—that even if we were to endorse the Contact Group's plan, we have no guarantees that Serbia would lift sanctions on the Drina or that sanctions against Serbia would be lifted."

Having confirmed that the Serb side has recently changed its attitude toward UN Protection Force members and that it has made no effort to make their lives easy, the president stressed that the Security Council "does not have a political stance toward the Serbs and is treating them as animals."

In his report on domestic politics, Karadzic said it is not the government but the sanctions on the Drina that have caused the current difficulties.

"We have been always very critical, but this government was formed at the time when sanctions were introduced and its work was reduced to securing the bare survival of the people and the army. Perseverance is the formula for Serb success, and we as the party in power must help the people to persevere and must give them what is necessary for their survival," the Serb president told members of the main committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb lands.

Opposes Recognition of Bosnia

LD2205195395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 22 May (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, has asked His Holiness [Serbian] Patriarch Pavle to use his authority "to prevent the recognition of Bosnia and Croatia."

The following is Karadzic's letter to the Holy Bishop's Assembly of the Serbian Orthodox Church and His Holiness Patriarch Pavle:

"We have received a report on talks between holy bishops and the [Bosnian] Serb and Krajina leaderships on ways of solving problems besetting the Serbs west of the Drina, and a statement for the public by the Holy Bishops' Assembly.

"We are eternally greateful to the Serbian Orthodox Church headed by you for motherly concern for the entire Serbian nation, as has always been the case. As things stand at present, it looks as if the church would be the only one to preserve the unity of the Serbian nation, as it did in the time of slavery.

"Many obstacles, of which the greatest are those posed by Serbs themselves, are in the way of political and state unity.

"We plead with you to use your great authority to prevent the recognition of Bosnia and Croatia, as in that case we Serbs would legalize the breakup of Yugoslavia, would take upon ourselves responsibility for our war of defense—which we could not have avoided—and would postpone our unification ad infinitum, that is, we would abandon unification.

"By recognizing Bosnia and Croatia, we would throw a lifebelt to those who broke up Yugoslavia and we ourselves would sink without hope of reaching the other bank.

"We assure you that we will persevere in the defense of the nation and efforts to bring about its reconciliation and transformation into a modern European nation in which orthodox spirituality would be the fruit of our nationhood," the letter forwarded to SRNA via the bureau for press contacts concludes.

'Gap' Between Milosevic, Karadzic May Be Wider

AU2305130595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 May 95 p 3

[BETA report: "Divisions Growing Deeper and More Evident"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, Banja Luka, BETA—One of the senior Bosnian Serb officials yesterday confirmed to BETA that a meeting of Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb republic parliament, with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had taken place recently.

"During this meeting the gap between Milosevic and Karadzic only widened," this official, who requested to remain anonymous, said.

Even after this meeting Karadzic and Krajisnik maintain the stance that the peace plan of the international community should not be accepted and that they will not recognize Belgrade's possible decision to recognize Bosnia and Croatia.

Simultaneously, this meeting, according to the same source, additionally amplified the differences between Karadzic and Bosnian Serb military commander General Ratko Mladic.

"The divisions are growing deeper and more evident. On one hand, there are Karadzic, Krajisnik, General Manojlo Milovanovic, and some other officers and on the other hand, Mladic, his assistant General Zdravko Tolimir (in charge of military security), and General Milan Gvero. These maintain contact with Milosevic," this source of BETA's said.

According to different military sources in Banja Luka, Mladic has drawn closer to Serbian President Milosevic substantially and most likely he will not be openly opposed to the possible Belgrade decision to recognize Bosnia.

This, however, does not mean that Mladic is now supporting the idea of Bosnia as a unified, internationally recognized state in the name of peace. These sources believe that the chances that a possible recognition of Bosnia by Belgrade would also mark the end of armed conflicts are slim.

By drawing closer to the Serbian president, Mladic, according to these beliefs, is trying to "rescue" the Bosnian Serb Army, whose power is declining and which is being threatened by greater defeats if the schism between Pale and Belgrade lasts.

Various military and political sources among the Bosnian Serbs in Banja Luka also claim that Mladic knew that Croatia would attack western Slavonia, but prevented the Bosnian Serb troops from crossing over the Sava River because he was promised the expansion of the corridor near Brcko in return.

According to these sources, Mladic agreed "not to meddle" in western Slavonia with a promise that the Croats would withdraw from the enclave around Orasje, near Brcko. This Croatian promise was allegedly conveyed by Slobodan Milosevic and Krajina Prime Minister Mikelic.

"We cannot lose the war while we have the corridor under our control. If the Croats were to leave this area, the corridor would be considerably safer, as we would only have to defend it from the Muslim attacks from the south," one of the senior Serbian officers in Banja Luka said.

Various sources which BETA contacted also claim that Mladic held his consultations with Milosevic and Mikelic without the knowledge of the leadership in Pale.

Karadzic: Bosnian, Croat Serb Unification 'Near'

LD2305110595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 23 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 23 May (SRNA)—[Bosnian] Serb republic President Radovan Karadzic announced today, before a special session of the People's Assembly, that (?the deputies) will discuss the current military and political situation after the Croatian occupation of western Slavonia.

Asked by many journalists how far advanced is the process of unifying the Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina [in Croatia], President Karadzic said unification is "very near." He stressed that these two Serb states have decided to form a single state west of Drina, rather than a federation.

"Federations are ineffective and loose," the Serb republic president said.

As well as discussing the current military and political situation, the deputies in the People's Assembly will today also discuss a proposal for a government reshuffle, as well as the work of the parliament.

Pale-Banja Luka Tension

AU2205194595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 95 p 3

[Article by BETA: "Lessening of Tension Between Pale and Banja Luka?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—A reconstruction of the Serb republic government will be carried out at the extraordinary session of the Bosnian Serbs' assembly scheduled to take place on Monday [22 May] in Banja Luka. Current prime minister Dusan Kozic will probably retain his position.

BETA has learned from sources close to the Serb republic government that Kozic will probably propose Predrag Radic, currently president of the Banja Luka Municipality, for the position of deputy prime minister. Kozic has already held consultations with Radic.

For Radic to join the government is a surprise, since he was the ringleader of the strong current in the Banja Luka region, which from time to time violently clashed with the central authorities in Pale.

Political circles in Banja Luka believe that this is an attempt by Radovan Karadzic to lessen tensions between the central authorities in Pale and Banja Luka.

It is probable that yet another Banja Luka man will be assigned to another significant department—the Trade Ministry. Kozic will propose that Lazar Tomic, currently manager of the Banja Luka Incel company, be appointed.

Krajisnik Views FRY Recognition of B-H

AU2205151895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "We Are Not Angry With Milosevic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Momcilo Krajisnik said yesterday that by recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic would make a historic mistake and that the RS [Serbian republic] leadership would not accept such a decision.

"Such a decision by President Milosevic or any other responsible person would be completely opposite to the interests of the Serbian people and would directly serve our enemies," Krajisnik told the SRNA agency, adding that "nobody has the right to make decisions contrary to his people's interests."

He also said that recognizing two entities, Serbian and Muslim-Croatian, within the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina is also not acceptable to the RS. "The RS exists as a state with all attributes of statehood and we would never agree to be a sort of entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina," Krajisnik said and remarked that "however, nothing is excluded."

He did not want either to confirm or deny the reports on a recent meeting between RS leadership and Slobodan Milosevic.

"We think that Serbian president is an important person to the Serbian people and, although we do not agree about the approach to the Contact Group plan and the views on the destiny of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and former Croatia, we are not angry, and in politics we have no right to be angry," the Bosnian assembly chairman said.

'Incompetent' Akashi 'Violated' Resolutions

AU2205133895 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 95 p 16

[Commentary by Maja Freundlich: "Akashi's Honor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The way that UN secretary general's envoy, Yasushi Akashi, behaves is very unusual. Last week Mirko Galic [Paris correspondent] told us that the French press, being several days late, "discovered" to a certain extent that the reports on Croatian violation of human rights in western Slavonia had not been true. Galic says that LE FIGARO interviewed Fred Eckhardt. Eckhardt stated in the interview that he had been forced to let the unchecked report on the alleged Serb victims pass, "following the urgent order from Yasushi Akashi," who was "very irritated" because he could not impose the conditions for peace on the government in Zagreb.

Akashi, therefore, first "irritated," used "urgent" lies to accuse Croatians. Then he went to Belgrade and met with Milosevic. "We considered the tense situation in western Slavonia." Akashi was comforting Milosevic, and, as could be concluded from many reports, he actually rushed off to Belgrade to apologize to the Serbs and tried to justify the lack of readiness of his soldiers to fight on Serbia's side. Commenting on the allegations of violence against Serbs, Akashi promised that the international organizations that are on the ground would "supervise the observance of human rights," but he also stated that they "saw that there had been no violations." Responding to all this, Milosevic coldly said that the UN is expected to implement its mission. "No more nor less than that." What is this mission? The mission is to protect the Serb conquests, since the Serbs, as plunderers and bad soldiers, are not capable of holding on to them.

Akashi then met with Martic, Mikelic, and Babic in Belgrade, who told him sharply that they had not agreed to "truce, but to a cease-fire." At the end of his Tuesday [session] in Belgrade, commenting on his efforts to establish a dialogue between "the conflicting Zagreb and Knin," Akashi pointed out the "importance of Belgrade's constructive role in restoring the peace process," assessing Belgrade's efforts as the crucial contribution to achieving peace.

Having returned to Zagreb, Akashi met with Hrvoje Sarinic, and, after his Serb chats, he demanded that the Croatian government observe human rights. "Mr. Sarinic assured me that this would be so," said Akashi. The notion of future in Akashi's sentence was to express the opinion that this had not been so before, but would be so in the future. "It is useful to have the Croatian Government cooperate with us. If Croatia wishes to be acknowledged as a civilized country, it will abide by the highest international standards of observing human rights." However, only a little later, answering a direct question from a reporter, Akashi had to admit that "maybe the signal we sent was louder than the situation called for." In further answers to reporters' questions, the contradictory Akashi, who keeps having to deny his earlier, untrue, allegations, did not stop quoting the Serb sources of his realizations. "We received the first reports on the crimes against the Serbs from the refugees who arrived in Banja Luka." Or, suddenly becoming Martic's direct spokesman, "Martic is closely observing the situation in western Slavonia, so his position on the possibility of bombing Zagreb in the future will depend on the development of events." Or, again, as Milosevic's spokesman: "I think that President Milosevic is not even considering the possibility of military intervention in Croatia."

Hrvoje Sarinic, who was quite clear and determined in this conversation last Wednesday, could certainly not quite understand who it was he was talking to. Was it the representative of the UNCRO forces, whose clear mandate, which has now been in force for four years, was, according to all the violated UN resolutions, supposed to be "to protect the Croatian state borders, to disarm the paramilitary formations, and to secure the return of the refugees"? The resolutions relate to the state of Croatia, and the refugees are the Croats that the Serbs expelled, in blood, in 1991. Akashi has violated all these resolutions personally. Was it his decision or did he do so following the orders of Butrus-Ghali, who thus directly spat on the organization he is head of?

Perhaps Sarinic, not being aware of it, had across the table a representative of Greater Serbia, who speaks of war criminal Milosevic with awe, calling him "Mr. President," and obediently conveys the opinions of other, less important Serb war criminals? Or was it a representative of yet another power center that was sitting across from Sarinic?

If he is really here on behalf of the United Nations, Akashi has, by violating the resolutions of his own organization, brought dishonor upon himself, turning out to be completely incompetent in his task of retrieving Croatian sovereignty. Moreover, he brought dishonor upon himself by telling lies that soon came out in the open.

If Akashi is here a concealed representative of Greater Serbia, he first brought dishonor upon himself by taking the side of war criminals and plunderers, and then by not managing to defend the conquests of the possible order-issuing authority.

If Akashi is here in some other capacity, then he is completely incompetent, since he has not even managed to shape that task, let alone carry it out.

Whomever this man may represent, he has brought dishonor upon himself by being incompetent. The only way he can change that is by leaving voluntarily. You do not need to be Japanese to make that last attempt to save your honor. Any honorable person would do it.

Serbia Said Assisting Bosnia, Croatian Serbs

AU2005200295 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 95 p 20

[Commentary by V. Jovanovic: "Order: Prevent Collapse"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Confusion, despair, and fear of things to come are overcoming the Serbs and their leaders. Chief of Staff General Milan Celeketic was replaced at the session of the supreme military command of "Krajina" by General Mile Mrksic, former deputy chief of staff of the "Yugoslav Army." This was the first consequence of "learning from the mistakes" of the western Slavonia defeat.

The whole thing is still very new, but there are indicators that this has been the most important personnel change in the armies of the Serbs on the other side of the Drina so far. Gen. Mrksic is well known to MONITOR readers, but it is worth repeating a few important details. Gen. Mrksic first became known to the public as commander of the Guard Brigade of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] at Vukovar. In 1992 he organized a Special Purpose Corps (the Guard Brigade, the Paratroopers Brigade, and the Sabotage Brigade) and became commander of this formation. In the middle of the following year, he was pulled out and appointed deputy to General Perisic. Therefore, he is a regular officer in what is generally called the "Yugoslav Army." Gen. Mrksic was last seen in public during the joint exercises of the Special Purpose Corps and the intervention brigades of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs in Kosovo several months ago.

There had been prognoses regarding Gen. Mrksic's fate before, and some saw him at the end of last year as pretender to the post of commander of the Belgrade army of the "Yugoslav Army," instead of General Dragoljub Ojdanic, who is supposed to leave that function on 16 June, Army Day. So something had to be done with Gen. Mrksic, but what actually happened was difficult to predict. It appears that Mrksic was born in Croatia, which could explain this transfer, but his position as active officer in an army that is suspected (still) of lending active support to the Serbs across the Drina makes the whole affair delicate. However, some people who spoke to MONITOR say that Milan Martic made this move after consultations with official Belgrade. Belgrade wants to consolidate the Serb army in Croatia and thus prevent any further demonstration of force by Zagreb, which—it is now clear even to the skeptics—only makes Croatia's general position stronger and not weaker. This essentially brings into question the four-year effort on the front to create a greater Serbia—something that Belgrade secretly has never really given up.

The people we spoke to also say that Gen. Mrksic is a man in Slobodan Milosevic's confidence, so his transfer to Knin might refute the alleged rift between Martic and Milosevic, although disagreements do exist, but some of them might have been sorted out at a dinner last week in Dedinje. It is also possible that Belgrade will declaratively distance itself from Mrksic, but that does not mean much. Last spring, two retired generals (Domazetovic and Stevanovic) arrived in Knin as advisers, but there were many problems there. Besides, the entire "Krajina" army officers corp is financed from the fund intended for the salaries of officers in the "Yugoslav Army," and so on, and some of the pilots of the planes that were downed last year over Bosnia—which took off from the Udbine airfield—were identified as pilots in the "Yugoslav Army."

All in all, Gen. Mrksic's transfer confirms the weight of evidence that Serbia is still actively assisting the rebel Serbs across the Drina, as demonstrated by transport helicopter flights at the end of last week and confirmed reports of tanks massing on the left bank of the Danube, near Erdut and Batina. However, there is no disposition in Belgrade to enter a war to help or at least soften the Serb military collapse, which could become reality as soon as next year to judge by current developments and the tempo of events.

The more sober people realize perhaps where the continuing delay with the recognition of Bosnia and Croatia is leading, but Milosevic as always is playing with two sets of cards. On Tuesday, all the informed circles in Belgrade were buzzing with the rumor that he was intending to give partial recognition to Bosnian independence in order to buy time and preserve the status quo on the ground, and then bring new people to Pale and Knin. However, will the Bosnians and Croats wait for that? Even Milosevic, it seems, does not appear to be under the illusion that the adversaries will fall for his trick, and therefore the mission of Gen. Mrksic seems to be directed at the crucial closing of Serbian ranks and the defense of the captured territories.

Commander Claims Serb Artillery in Sector North

AU2205162595 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 95 p 7

[Report on interview with Major General Miljenko Crnjac, commander of the Karlovac regional corps, by Jasna Plevnik; place and date not given: "Volunteers Are Arriving From Serbia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reports on the alarming situation in the "separation zones", which the so-called Zagreb Agreement introduced into the vocabulary, have in the past several days been regularly arriving from the UN Headquarters. Even before Operation Bljesak, Serb paramilitary forces entered the separation zones and took weapons along, thus violating the Zagreb Agreement, and after the events in western Slavonia, the Serb artillery took offensive positions and the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] observation posts, and blocked the UN forces in every possible way. To demand of Croatia in this kind of situation to withdraw its forces from certain parts of the separation zones, before some new agreement is reached, is, to say the least, irrational. Since, according to what the UN spokesmen have said, the Croatian Army [HV] is still concentrated in Sector North, we asked major general Miljenko Crnjac, commander of the Karlovac HV regional corps, to assess the situation in the separation zone. He said the following:

"During Operation Bljesak, our forces were fully prepared for defense. When Zagreb was attacked, Karlovac was also attacked, but we followed the orders we received from the HV Headquarters, which means that we did not return fire. The interesting thing is that the number of provocations has been decreasing since the last artillery attacks. There were many more provocations when the situation was relatively peaceful. At present there are very few, and I do not know what it means, but I suppose that they got a little scared, and they also probably introduced more order and discipline in their formations. Serb paramilitary forces entered Sector North, but we are also at certain positions that we have to control for security reasons."

The HV can, clearly, not allow the enemy forces to enter the positions that the HV left in accordance with the Zagreb Agreement. Asked when they would leave the positions in the separation zone, General Crnjac said that it would happen the moment they receive the order to do so from headquarters, and this agreement will probably be implemented together with UNCRO. General Crnjac believes that the Zagreb Agreement was violated long ago, since the Serb forces took certain positions earlier, and they have been walking these areas for a while now, wearing the uniforms of the "Serb army of Krajina." "We have broken the agreement, but we were forced to do so, since, because of the situation, we have to control the area," said General Crnjac.

As far as the position of UNCRO is concerned, Major General Crnjac pointed out that they are also blocked here, on the Serb-controlled territory, and UNCRO cannot move around freely, since the Serbs probably want to bring in artillery, tanks, and so on, so they are limiting the UNCRO movements in order for them not to find out where their positions are and not to inform the command of what is actually going on in this area. Serb patrols have been going to UNCRO observation posts, which is where we saw them several times, explained Crnjac. He said that at the recent meeting with the new UNCRO commander for Sector North, the Ukrainian colonel S. Mokrenets, they agreed that it was necessary for them to meet more often, and considered the present problem from all the three sides. We came to the conclusion, explained General Crnjac, that all the three sides have violated certain resolutions, and that the Croatian side did so to the least extent. These were only individual violations, while the provocations arriving from the Serb side were the most frequent. There are specific indications of what I am talking about. It must be emphasized that UNCRO soldiers, particularly the Polish soldiers, were found to be drunk on several occasions, and they were also found recording our positions. We therefore agreed that observers and UNCRO members must be with our liaison officers when they are in our zone, not only in order not to record our positions, but also for their own safety. They were going to accuse us on several occasions that their vehicles ended up in mine fields, and that the HV had mined the roads, so if our officers are with them when they are here, then they will be a certain guarantee that we would not do any such thing. We also have information that a certain number of their vehicles has disappeared, which the other side may use to get into our area. This means that we have to control UNCRO and keep up with their movements. I believe that it will be possible to cooperate with the command of the UNCRO Sector North, since the commander is a realistic person, as is the commanding office that he has formed.

Asked what development of events can be expected in the area, General Crnjac said he believed it would depend on the development of the situation in the entire Croatia, as well as on what the Serb side would do now—they have brought in all the heavy artillery into the area, and volunteers have also arrived from Serbia. It is possible that there will be provocations aimed at creating large-scale conflicts. The Serb people will soon realize what these volunteers are bringing along. Once they realize they cannot steal from the Croat and Muslim people, they will start stealing from their own. As we were able to see in other occupied parts of Croatia, wherever volunteers came, they stole from their own people whenever they could not steal from Croatians.

At any rate, our troops are ready to carry out their tasks, said General Crnjac.

Commentary on Chance of More War Crimes Cases

AU2205180995 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 95 p 9

[Commentary by Ivan Sabic: "Balancing Accusations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is extensive documentation in The Hague. Naturally, the issue is the documentation dealing with the war crimes against the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which most suspects are members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. As many as 1,182 documents have been sent to the Hague Tribunal—testimonies, photographs, video recordings, autopsy reports, and so on—concerning crimes against the Croat people, special emphasis being put on the killing of 22 Croats in the village of Trusina near Konjic.

It is too soon to say how the International Tribunal for war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is going to accept the documentation, and if they are going to start investigation against the suspects. However, it is possible to establish with reasonable certainty that at present all the three sides involved in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina are equal, at least at the level of charges.

Namely, it was initially stated that the reason the decision on the founding of the International War Tribunal was made were the crimes committed by Serb formations against the Muslim and Croat population. Apart from political reasons, the figures of 200,000 killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 30,000 women raped, and over one million expelled from their homes, all of which was the doing of the Greater Serbian leaders, had the crucial influence on those who made the decision. Croats and Muslims complicated the matter further with their conflict, which immediately prompted foreign commentators to establish that no one in Bosnia-Herzegovina was sinless.

The decision of the leaders of the Muslim people that several indictments be issued in the Zenica courts against members of the Croat Defense Council provided the supporters of this opinion with an additional argument. With this move, as well as with many statements about the Muslims and Bosnia-Herzegovina being stuck between two fascisms, they blurred the view of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina for many, and the High Court in Zenica presenting documents to the International War Tribunal in The Hague practically made the Croat side resort to the same instrument.

Namely, one of the officials of the government of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia says that the documents that have recently been sent to The Hague were collected a long time ago; a smaller part of them was presented to the public through the media, but there was reluctance to make official accusations of the Muslim side precisely in order not to disturb the image of the Muslims and Croats as victims of the aggression, and to keep the sharp line between the aggressor and the victims of aggression. However, when the Muslim leadership came out with the accusation of the Croats, nothing else was left but to do the same, and that move was precisely what the Western capitals expected, since it was to make it possible for them to have an elegant line of retreat, to give up on the Bosnia-Herzegovina slaughterhouse, if necessary.

For a long time now, there has been no reason to doubt that this line of retreat was sought after, and the latest confirmation of this are the recent events in Sarajevo, where the resumed (and escalated) artillery conflicts were accompanied by the claims of the UN officials that it is not possible to say that one side is less responsible than the other. Naturally, no one is interested in the fact that one side sends their shells towards the artillery and other positions in the hills around the besieged city, while the other sends them towards the city streets, apartments, schools, and hospitals.

The International War Tribunal is, at least for the time being, continuing the investigation only against Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic, and Mica Stanisic, while the names of the suspected Croats are for the time being used only in newspaper articles. Some analysts have assessed that the further Tribunal actions, including the treatment of the documents that the Croat side has presented, will depend primarily on the development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia; that is, on the need for the international forces to make pressure on one of the sides at a certain moment. After all, this is the intention with which the Tribunal was founded, and it is not only justice that should be expected of its future actions, but also politics.

Unification of Krajina, Bosnian Serbs Predicted

LD2205193295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 22 May (SRNA)—Petar Damjanic, spokesman of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] president, told SRNA today that the [Bosnian]

Serb republic and Krajina will "most probably unite by the end of this month."

"Leaderships of both countries are absolutely in favor of unification; what remains to be done is to work the whole thing out, to determine forms and technical details," Damjanic said.

Speaking about a session of the Serb republic assembly to be held in Banja Luka tomorrow, Damjanic said that he does not expect "any change in the stance on unification, as this is an act of equal importance for both western Serb lands."

"As far as Belgrade's reaction to the unification of the Serb republic and the RSK is concerned, I think it should not be negative. This is a matter of interest for the entire Serb nation; the next step ought to be further unification of all Serb lands," Damjanic believes.

Commenting on the behavior and statements of Krajina Prime Minister Mikelic, Damjanic said that these constituted "an extremely inappropriate way of addressing a head of state, and that these statements speak a lot about the one that has made them."

"President Martic has no intention of commenting on such behavior, nor is he going to enter into any polemics with Borislav Mikelic, either directly or through the press," the Krajina president's spokesman concluded.

RSK's Mikelic Cautions Against Unification

AU2305083295 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 95 p 2

[Report by BETA : "We Should Consider It Thoroughly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, BETA—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], stated for the BETA agency yesterday that the unification of the RSK and the Serb republic could drive Krajina into a more unfavorable position.

Mikelic said that Krajina, as opposed to the Serb republic [RS], is not under the FRY sanctions, but maintains economic and other relations with the RS, and that the terms of possible unification were yet to be determined.

"We should not allow the RSK to be drowned in the Serb republic and Krajina to be thereby 'dragged' under sanctions," he said.

According to Mikelic, responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia is borne by the RSK's military leadership and President Martic, and not by the government or the parliament. At yesterday's session of the parliament in Borovo Selo, Martic, according to Mikelic, tried to confine everything to the political level, however, it was clear that he and the army had known in advance that western Slavonia would be attacked and had failed to take any steps to protect the people.

"Martic and a part of the leadership in Knin tried to bring down the government that I head through western Slavonia, however, what happened was that territories were lost and people died," he added.

The fundamental mistake, according to Mikelic, was the insistence on the closure of the highway. This road in a way protected western Slavonia from an attack by Croatia. The Croats could not attack until the highway was closed, which gave them an excuse for the action, Mikelic says.

He denied taking part in any secret talks about the exchange of western Slavonia for the Croatian enclave around Orasje in Northern Bosnia.

"The leadership in Pale held secret talks with the Croatian authorities three or four months ago. The government that I head has never held any secret talks and has done everything publicly," Mikelic said.

"Krajisnik (president of the RS assembly) is now calling for immediate unification, claiming that with the fall of western Slavonia the Vance Plan has been wrecked and that there is nothing left for Krajina short of unification," Mikelic said.

Babic Interviewed About Unification, Leadership

AU2305074895 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 95 p 2

[Interview with Milan Babic, "foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina," by Milan Bozokin in Borovo Selo; date not given: "Many of Our Weaknesses"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the session of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] that is being held in Borovo Selo, two points on the agenda are drawing the deputies' attention in particular: The analysis of the causes that led to a quick fall of western Slavonia and the proposal for the unification of the two Serb states on the other side of the Drina River. These have already been under discussion for three days.

The importance of the issues that are being discussed at the Krajina assembly session in Borovo Selo was the reason to interview Milan Babic, RSK foreign minister and president of the Serbian Democratic Party.

[Bozokin] The discussion about Croatia's aggression against western Slavonia is dragging on, which is understandable considering that a tragedy has again befallen the Serb people in Krajina. What stands have been taken so far?

[Babic] We must illuminate the tragedy of western Slavonia from all aspects, and this is why a large number of deputies have taken part in the debate. We are discussing our weaknesses that led to Croatia capturing western Slavonia with ease. In my view, the main culprit is the Ustasha and nazi-fascist authorities in Croatia who are sponsored by world powers. We must therefore continue to defend every inch of the Serb land of the RSK.

[Bozokin] What will be the future status of the RSK?

[Babic] My personal view, the view of my party, and that of the people is that any status of Krajina within Croatia is out of the question. The first step in the creation of a joint state is in fact the unification with the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina]. I expect unification with other Serb lands, primarily the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to also take place. We hope that the international community will initially enable us to establish at least confederal ties with Yugoslavia, which we would later strengthen through federal ties, and then to unite fully in a unified state. We all know that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is under sanctions, blockade, and blackmail, and that it is difficult for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to accept our model at present.

[Bozokin] What status will UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] have in Krajina in the future?

[Babic] The basic thing that we can accept from UNPROFOR's mandate is its deployment in the so-called buffer zones, that is, in the zones of separation between the RSK and Croatia. The Supreme Defense Council of Krajina did say in its decree that the UN forces could also implement the economic agreement reached between us and Croatia. However, in my view, the agreement that we signed with the Croats cannot be implemented before the final settlement of state relations between the RSK and Croatia. This view has also been expressed by President Martic at the assembly session.

[Bozokin] The split in the Krajina leadership between President Martic and Prime Minister Mikelic remains deep. How do you see their dispute, which, it appears, is significantly affecting the overall situation in the RSK?

[Babic] In Krajina, there have been various cases of personal disagreements, but Krajina has always managed to overcome them. I expect this to happen this time, too.

[Bozokin] What is your view on the events that happened in Knin several days ago?

[Babic] Our police is still not efficient enough. A new minister of police was appointed two months ago, but he has not been able to assume his duties until today. Therefore, big problems in the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have contributed toward a group of people that is under someone's sponsorship causing havoc, exploiting the absence of the municipal leadership, and carrying out a "mini coup d'etat" by taking over the Radio and Television of Krajina.

Knin Radio Reports on RSK Assembly Session

AU2205131095 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 18 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondent, Petar B. Popovic, has just called in from Borovo Selo, where a session of the Assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is taking place.

[Popovic] The RSK Assembly has so far accepted the demand for relieving Lieutenant General Milan Celeketic of his duties and verified the nomination of the new commander of the RSK Army, Lieutenant General Mile Mrksic.

At the beginning of the session, there was a two-hour discussion of the agenda, after which the majority of the representatives decided that the Krajina Assembly will discuss the Croatian aggression against western Slavonia, the implementation of the UN forces' mandate in the RSK, appointing the state committee for adopting the project of the Serb federation, and the appointment of the new commander of the RSK Army. Other items that were supposed to be on the agenda will be discussed at the next Assembly session.

According to unconfirmed information, since the session is taking place behind closed doors, the RSK state committee for the implementation of the Serb federation has been nominated, but we still do not know the names of the committee members.

Correpondents had the chance to talk to Radmilo Bogdanovic in Borovo Selo today. Asked about the possibility of Serbia recognizing the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, he said, among other things:

[Begin recording] This question requires a long answer. You know what our efforts were aimed towards: That the interests of the Serb people in the Serb republic be secured; that the Serb republic with its assembly, government, police, and its army, be organized on half of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina; and that it be made possible for it to make confederate relations with the FRY. This is still our position, and this is still what our efforts are aimed towards, regardless of the stubbornness of the authorities, which will probably have to [word indistinct] and accept the Contact Group plan as the basis; naturally, starting from the fact that the other unresolved issues that are unfavorable for the Serb people should be resolved through negotiations.

Therefore, the key policy of the interests of the Serb people on the territory of the former Bosnia has not been given up, and before these issues are resolved, there can be no discussion of mutual recognition.

[Popovic] What about the Republic of Croatia, that is, the RSK?

[Bogdanovic] We have always supported the position that the Serb people in the RSK—which has been constituted, which has its own assembly, its president, its government, and which is a negotiator, within the Vance plan, with the Republic of Croatia—we cannot talk in a different way before the stages of the Vance plan are completed. [sentence as heard] We said that the first stage would be the signing of a cease-fire, the second stage would consist of economic agreements, and now there should finally be a political [word indistinct]. The Croats should be condemned for having carried out the aggression, and they should withdraw to the initial positions, so that we can go back to the peaceful solution. [end recording]

[Popovic] Although the session is being held behind closed doors, we have learned that, at the moment, the first item on the agenda is still being discussed, which is the analysis of the Croatian aggression against western Slavonia. We learned that the only report so far has been submitted by the former commander, General Celeketic, and it seems that the session will be continued tomorrow.

Krajina Government Seeks To Accommodate Refugees

AU2005150995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 95

[Report by Katarina Andric Milosavljevic from Borovo Selo]

[FBIS Translated Text] A short time after the beginning of the session the deputies from western Slavonia asked for a brief break, because—they stressed—the debate was not going in the right direction and was avoiding current events. They asked that, due to the critical situation and urgency of seeking a solution, a debate be initiated regarding the newly created situation to do with refugees from western Slavonia arriving on this territory. After a short break the session resumed, but after some 30 minutes it was interrupted again. At the moment, the republic of Serbian Krajina's government session is under way. We have learned that the session will continue following consultations between government members on measures pertaining to accommodating the refugees.

The refugee wave started yesterday, when 1,200 western Slavonia refugees from the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] arrived on the territory of the Vukovar municipality. About 1,020 of them are being accommodated in schools; about 200 have found accommodation with local families. New convoys of refugees have set off toward Kukujevci, Raca, and Tovarna.

We have learned that the members of the republic of Serbian Krajina government will tour the schools and homes this afternoon, and check conditions to make sure that the refugees have found appropriate accommodation. For the time being, it remains extremely difficult to make contact with the unfortunates who are arriving, as they are anxious and enraged over the situation in which they find themselves.

It is uncertain how the situation will unfold in the republic of Serbian Krajina's assembly session, given the critical events. We suppose that the assembly will resume work following the adoption of urgent measures on the accommodation of the refugees, and that the points on the agenda will be discussed.

Krajina's Mikelic Sums Up Assembly's Conclusions

AU2105152695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 95

[Statement by Krajina Serb official Borislav Mikelic by telephone from Borovo Selo on 21 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] What is important is that the [republic of Serbian Krajina] assembly absolutely condemned, condemned in the harshest of terms, the aggression by Croatia against west Slavonia. There is no reason—regardless of all the problems that emerged on the ground about the highway—there can never be any reason for an act of aggression, and for the deaths of the innocent. This is in fact number one.

Two, we have demanded that an urgent session of the Security Council be held, as proposed by the Russians and some other countries—and this is also our view—and we have asked the FRY and the federal secretariat for foreign affairs to hold this session, at which the Croatian aggression against west Slavonia must be condemned, and certain measures taken. Also measures must be taken to get to the people on Mt. Papuk, who are still resisting. The Croatian police and their military forces are searching for them. The final number of casualties must be given so that we can say when we will proclaim mourning in the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Also, a very important conclusion was to seek accommodation for the refugees, and this is the central task for the government and the commissions we have formed, both here in east Slavonia, Srem, and partly in Baranja, as well as on the territory of the FRY in places were they will be settled.

A commission was also formed to establish individual responsibility for the military collapse.

Parliament Establishes Security Education Center

AU2205131795 Skopje MIC News in English 19 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yesterday, the Macedonian Parliament passed the law on the establishment of a center for the education of personnel in the field of security, which abolishes the faculty of security, with 53 votes from the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] and the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity]. The LP [Liberal Party] and SP [Socialist Party] gave 12 against and 6 abstained votes.

This decision of the parliament was preceded by a broad debate, in which there were opposing arguments to the need to abolish the faculty of security.

Commentary Views U.S.-Macedonian Cooperation

AU2305102895 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 May 95 p 2

[Commentary by Gordana Ristevska: "Congruence of Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fourteen months after U.S. recognition of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] bilateral cooperation in the field of defense is marking a rise. This is demonstrated by the presence of over 500 U.S. soldiers within the ranks of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force]; by the latest memorandum on cooperation between the two respective ministries, signed seven months ago; and by the work of the newly established joint Contact team, which has to provide frequent contacts between Washington and Skopje in this domain. The highest level of cooperation was last year's visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry to the Republic of Macedonia (as the first visit by a U.S. minister), followed by the recent official visit of Macedonian Defense Minister Blagaj Handjiski to the United States.

If we try to find a logical explanation for the present level of cooperation in military defense between the two countries—which is obviously above the level of established political relations between Macedonia and the United States—the conclusion is that the strategic interests of the two countries and the reality in and around Macedonia—as well as in the region at large—correspond.

Some of the strategic interests of the United States—such as the growth of NATO; the restriction of the Balkan military conflicts to the central part of the continent with the aim of preventing the threatening and dangerous conflict from spreading to the region at large; and, at the same time, the U.S. interest in retaining its global image as the greatest protector of democracy and human rights—correspond to the officially defined interests of Macedonia. This coincides with the European option and the political principles that Macedonia advocates, as far as security is concerned: to rely on the collective defense system that is to be included in "Partnership for Peace" and NATO, while, on the internal plane, to strive for respect of national minority rights according to European standards.

On the other hand, even the latest analyses of U.S. and NATO experts reveal the same constant: The strategic importance of Macedonia and of the small geographic space that it occupies is a sensitive area on which depends not only the limiting of the Balkan destabilization but also the possible direct involvement of more countries—including Russia—and conceivably a war on a larger scale. The volume of bilateral military cooperation, however, will have a positive or negative effect on certain other circumstances in and around Macedonia.

Butrus-Ghali and Clinton, as well as the U.S. State Department, pointed out that even 14 UN and world peacekeeping missions had not borne positive results, including the presence of U.S. soldiers in the preventive UNPROFOR, now the UNPREDEP mission in Macedonia, which was initiated by Macedonia's President Gligorov. If this mission is necessary for Macedonia as a warning, and to a certain extent as a protective measure for the territorial integrity of the country and for its security, which is not disputed, it is of equal importance for the United Nations and for the United States.

The precarious development of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia this spring have also affected the mutual U.S.-Macedonian defensive and intermilitary relations; and these events have also affected, to a certain extent, the dangerous tensions caused by the "Albanian factor" in our country, in Kosovo, and in Albania.

Within the global framework of U.S. "goodwill" for cooperation in this field, and not only with Macedonia, there are—or can be expected—identical Russian activities in the region (the signing of an agreement on military cooperation between Moscow on the one hand, and Belgrade and Sofia on the other), as well as at large. Normally, all this will depend on interests.

Unfortunately, there are certain situations created as a result of lower levels of political relations and of the fertility of world diplomacy—including that of the United States, where mediation for peace in Bosnia is at stake, as well as concerning a solution for the Macedonian-Greek dispute.

The U.S. Administration justifies the absence of official relations at the ambassadorial level by the pressure of the U.S. Greeks. Incidentally, former Secretary of State Baker called it "pure nonsense or a pure lie." However, in the absence of any relaxation in relations between Athens and Skopje through mediation (since the Greek veto prevents our becoming a member of the OSCE), our admission to the "Partnership" is not possible.

Another issue is the memorandum, or agreement, on training intended to facilitate Macedonia's transformation and restructuring and thus make it compatible with the Western defense system. However, it is not a true and overall agreement on military cooperation. We shall have to wait and see whether such a document will justify Handjiski's visit to the Pentagon.

Such a critical observation does not mean that the intention of either of the two respective ministries or countries is to teach the Macedonian soldiers how to salute in English. It is true that, according to public information so far, the memorandum provides for the education and training of higher officers of the Macedonian Army and the professional aid of U.S. military experts—but it has been focused on medical and technical assistance in communications, rather than on arms supply. If the Macedonian defense is not adequately equipped, there cannot be an appropriate defense either, and even the ignorant are aware of that.

The justification that there is an international embargo on arms sales to Macedonia brings us back to the current bilateral military cooperation of the two countries and the existing realities that can be influenced by U.S. diplomacy.

The closeness of strategic relations between the United States and Macedonia will always be balanced by the different size, power, and significance of the two countries. It will certainly be reflected in cooperation in the field of defense. However, even if the United States recognizes, as it does, the territorial integrity of this country, the formal presence of Minister Handjiski in the Pentagon, as well as the statements of U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, demonstrate that if the strategic position and stability of Macedonia coincide with their own national interests, there will be less room for bilateral relations in this plan—and not only here, but it will become a rarity around Macedonia as a by-product of what we have described here. Nobody can expect Washington not to strictly respect strategic U.S. interests.

In spite of the present unfavorable economic and overall transition situation, Macedonia will, for the sake of its own existence and security, follow the slogan of the late Greek magnate Onassis: "Even if you are down to your last $100, spend it with the rich." This time the rich—that is the United States—must be careful not to lose what it already possesses.

Defense Minister on Significance of U.S. Trip

AU2305072195 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 May 95 pp 1-2

[Article by S. Jovanovska: "New Forms of Defense Cooperation Agreed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a week-long official visit to Washington and the United Nations in New York, where he also met with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry and UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Defense Minister Blagoj Handjiski returned to Skopje.

Handjiski emphasized that this was the first official visit to the United States and he assessed that it has opened a new page in relations between the two states—first of all, as a result of the Republic's constructive foreign and internal policy and of our efforts to safeguard peace and stability in the region. In listing the numerous meetings at the White House, the State Department, the Congress, and the Pentagon, Minister Handjiski attached special importance to the discussions with Defense Secretary William Perry, pointing out that they lasted for two hours and that they were held at a time when the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has become extremely complicated, for which the United States is searching intensively for solutions. Handjiski said that the discussions were devoted mainly to bilateral matters and new forms of cooperation in the defense field and, as he pointed out, bilateral teams will institutionalize these forms this year. Handjiski also emphasized that this is the first time—thanks to the endeavors of Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski—that $1 million from the U.S. budget for the members of the "Partnership for Peace" will be given to Macedonia, together with other financial support for educating our personnel who will travel to the United States in September.

When asked whether it was true that he had stated that Macedonia is ready to make concessions as regards the flag and the disputed article of the Constitution, Handjiski said that he has not been informed on what has been published in relation to his visit to the United States, but that he supposes that such statements were either taken out of context or misinterpreted. Handjiski said that he had stated that the sun is a Balkan and a world symbol, to which nobody has an exclusive historical right, and that the name is linked to the identity of this nation, and that it is out of the question to discuss it in the negotiations that Macedonia supports in principle. As for all the other questions, Handjiski stated that there must be goodwill to find a suitable solution, and "if you think that the disputed article expresses our aspirations toward Greece, then there is no problem for us to accept your article, which is far stronger than the Macedonian, in which we normally take care of the rights of our minorities."

Handjiski said that he was provoked by malicious questions from a Greek journalist (who asked why he is not ashamed of mentioning the embargo and hiding the causes for the embargo), as well as by certain reactions of the other Greeks who attended the news conference, including the president of the so-called Macedonian Association of Greeks in the United States, who—as he pointed out—even threatened him with violence. In this context, the minister mentioned the visit of the leader of the opposition "New Democracy" Miltiadis Evert which, as he said, was aimed at "taking care of the damages that our delegation had made during the visit and correcting them if possible."

When asked about his opinion on the announced Macedonian-Albanian military maneuvers, Handjiski said that every incident of cooperation, particularly in the Balkans, is very important and it is a contribution to mutual confidence and maintenance of stability in the region. He assessed the cooperation with Albania as initial but good, and said that he expects it to be institutionalized soon with an agreement.

[Box, p 2]

Ghali-Handjiski Meeting

Macedonian Defense Minister Blagoj Handjiski met UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in New York.

In the long and open discussions, they exchanged opinions on the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) and its function after the separation of the Commanding Office. They both agreed that UNPREDEP is so far the most successful mission, and that a special envoy of the secretary general should be appointed soon, and they also discussed possible candidates.

They also agreed that the differences and the present misunderstanding in Macedonian-Greek relations should be resolved soon, in order to arrive at an overall stability in the southern Balkans.

Commentary: Did Minister Exceed His Authority?

AU2305074095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 May 95 p 2

[Commentary by "D.C.": "What Did the Minister Want To Say?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. visit of Blagoj Handjiski, Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], has attracted the Macedonian public's undivided attention. This was not just because it is the first visit by a defense minister from this region to the Pentagon, or because of the glorious reception arranged for the Macedonian minister, unparalleled by receptions for other Macedonian diplomats and officials visiting the United States....

On the contrary, the reason the visit was lifted to the highest possible level in the U.S. media was a part of the Macedonian minister's statement regarding the Constitution, the flag, and the negotiations with Greece. Moreover, the content of his statements and the way in which they were formulated give rise to a number of questions—even dilemmas—as to whether because he was provoked by journalists, the defense minister extended his authority and used his official visit to the United States to discuss foreign policy issues or reveal details of Macedonian strategy on the resumption of the Macedonian-Greek negotiations on which the United Nations is insisting. From what he said, Handjiski announcerd in advance Macedonia's readiness to discuss the symbol of the flag and (although with a dose of sarcasm) the possibility of changing the disputed article of the Macedonian Constitution.

It is hard to believe that it was nothing but a case of the defense minister's clumsy phrasing, when he told a large audience at the International Press Center in Washington: "We are prepared to discuss the symbol of the flag, which is a problem in our relations, and find a solution. However, nobody has the exclusive right to the historic endowment of Alexander the Great, not even Greece."

This seems to go beyond Macedonia's position in the mentioned negotiations with Greece, regarding which it has always been stressed that there is readiness to discuss everything, but only on an equal footing and without preconditions. Abandoning the symbol—that is, the 16-pointed star—is one of the conditions on which Greece insists. Handjiski's words suggest that it is possible to discuss the symbol and reach agreement, and that is nothing but a heavy-handed "revealing of the cards."

As far as the disputed article of the Constitution is concerned, the Macedonian side has specified many times that it is prepared to accept an interpretation, but it is out of the qustion to alter Article 49, particularly because there is an article in the Greek Constitution that provides care for the minorities in the neighboring countries as well. As Handjiski literally explained, "as regards the Constitution, we (Who is we: the government? Parliament?) are prepared to replace Article 49 with a similar article from the Greek Constitution."

Regardless of the way it was said, that is a very delicate issue that cannot be treated with sarcasm, as a joke, or in any such form—particularly not by a Macedonian minister and member of government, given the well-known tense relations and under pressure from Greece. A certain element of ambiguity was also introduced by the report that Minister Handjiski embarked on a long discussion with Greek journalists at the cited news conference on "historical subjects," which was preceded by the defense minister's conclusion that the "present Macedonian language is closer to Homer's language than modern Greek"—for which, as we have been informed, he presented concrete examples. This is probably the main reason for raising the matter of the goal of Handjiski's visit to the United States—that is: how far and to what limits the competences of the ministries in the Macedonian Government can be stretched, particularly as regards delicate questions of national interest.

Of course, with due respect to the minister responsible for the country's defense—and therefore for reacting to any threat to its integrity—he is equal to all other members of government in seekimg and offering solutions for the present and possible future problems with the neighbors.

[Box, p 2]

No Comments

Yesterday, we tried in vain to receive additional information concerning Defense Minister Blagoj Handjiski's statement regarding the matters of the flag and the Constitution. We were advised to wait for Minnister Handjiski, who is arriving in Skopje today, and ask for his personal explanation. We were told that comments were not possible for the time being. Namely, we have been informed that the Foreign Ministry has not yet received a direct report on the discussions and on everything that was said. "Taking this into consideration"—ministry deputy secretary Viktor Gaber told us—"we are not able to make any comment on media reports that the defense minister made statements about the flag."

CE Envoys See No Obstacle to Admission

AU2305075695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 May 95 p 2

[Unattributed report on a visit by a CE delegation: "Macedonia's Place Is in the Council of Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Kiro Gligorov, the president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], received a delegation from the Council of Europe [CE]. In a long and friendly discussion, it was agreed that Macedonia's admission to the CE is of key importance for the further development and international affirmation of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as for the stability in the region as a whole. The members of the delegation presented their views and said that the place of the Republic of Macedonia is in the CE, as well as in other European associations.

Yesterday, the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CE had separate meetings at a state level with Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, Minister of Justice Vlado Popovski, Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski, and Minister of Education Emilija Simovska.

The discussions were on concrete issues related to the legislative system of Macedonia and its compliance with European standards. During this second visit, the CE delegation expressed great satisfaction with the development of events in this field, compared with what they had observed on their first visit.

After the meetings and discussions with the Macedonian political leaders, the parliamentary delegation of the CE held a news conference at which they emphasized that "Macedonia is a democratic country. Perfect democracies are rare even in the CE."

The CE representatives from Great Britain, Switzerland, and Luxembourg gave a positive evaluation of the internal situation in Macedonia and said that they thought that there was no substantial obstacle to Macedonia's admission to this European institution.

They explained that one of the biggest problems facing our country is the existence of ethnic groups; but after they had discussed the present problems—including the case of the opening of a university in Tetovo—with representatives of the minorities in Macedonia, the members of parliament emphasized that there are no obstacles to the admission of Macedonia to the CE.

The European members of parliament stressed that they have always listened to the opinions of the opposition and that, in discussions with important politicians who are not in parliament, they received a positive reply on making Macedonia a member of this institution.

There are 32 member countries of the CE now, and it was announced at the news conference that Albania will be joining in June. Macedonia is one of the last countries to be admitted, but—it was stated—Albania had applied before Macedonia. The members of parliament also emphasized that they had to take into consideration that there was instability in Kosovo that could have effects on Albania and Macedonia.

The delegation assessed positively the internal situation in Albania and Macedonia and said that they would recommend that the two countries sign an agreement on stability, for which Macedonia has already demonstrated its good will.

It was also pointed out that the Council would once again be faced with Greece's opposition for the admission of Macedonia, but that this institution has the wish to overcome this problem.

Macedonian Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov will be receiving the delegation, after which the visit to Macedonia will end.

Russian Customs Officers at Belarussian Border

LD2205200395 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Since last week, Belarusian customs officers working on the Belarusian side of the border crossing points in Bruzgi-Kuznica Bialostocka and Berestovitsa-Bobrowniki have been accompanied in their work by Russian customs officers, we learned from the Podlasie Border Guard detachment in Bialystok. They are probably observers. The Border Guard officers think the appearance of Russian customs officers on the Polish-Belarusian border is the result of an agreement on joint command of the customs services and joint defense of Belarusian borders, signed by Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka in February.

KPN Names Leszek Moczulski Candidate

WS2205130395 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 May 95 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "Demonstration of Unity on the Center Right At the Fifth KPN Congress; Moczulski for Preelections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Leszek Moczulski is to be presented to St. Catherine's Covenant as the candidate of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]—such is the decision reached at KPN's Fifth Congress. Invited guests included Professor Adam Strzembosz, Deputy Chairman of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Franciszek Stefaniuk, Father Jozef Maj, and about a dozen leaders of center-right groupings.*

Moczulski was also elected for another term as party chairman, with only five votes abstaining.

We Will Wake Up in Prison

The congress was held under the motto of integrating anticommunist forces. "Poles are capable of uniting for a short while only. Then they squabble, turn against each other, start losing, and seek scapegoats. If we cannot find the elements that unite us, we will wake up to find ourselves in the prison Poland will become," the KPN chairman warned. "If the center right manages to unite, it will win both the presidential and the parliamentary elections. If we fail to come up with one candidate for president, one candidate for prime minister, one candidate for each of the ministerial posts, and a full list of candidates for deputies and senators, we can add another chapter to the history of failed elections."

Leszek Moczulski claims the center right has the largest chances of success in the elections because it represents the largest group of citizens: 35 percent. The rest are "those who dream of the Polish People's Republic return" (25 percent), "the bloc of people strongly integrated with land and rural areas" (20 percent), and "the center right branching from antitotalitarian opposition" (18 percent).

Walesa, Strzembosz, Korwin-Mikke

Speakers invited to the congress also spoke of the necessity to join forces before the coming presidential campaign, although each of them had different individuals in mind when speaking of one candidate for the entire center right. "I believe Lech Walesa can count on the support of the KPN constituency in the coming elections," said Andrzej Marcinkowski from the Presidential Chancellery. Prof. Adam Strzembosz called for "all political forces and the trade union movement to focus around someone who is capable of uniting them." "We should not select someone who is dearest to any specific party because no one closely affiliated with one grouping is capable of winning wide support. We must look for someone who has a chance of winning the support of all nonleftist Poles. We must fight for Poland just like the KPN began fighting for it 16 years ago," said Strzembosz.

Lech Pruchno-Wroblewski, deputy chairman of the Union for Real Politics, appealed to all rightist candidates to accept the suggestion made by Janusz Korwin-Mikke, according to which all candidates apart from the one ranking highest in opinion polls should withdraw from the campaign a few days before the elections.

Greetings From the PSL

Other invited guests (among them Father Maj from St. Catherine's parish in Warsaw, Ryszard Czarnecki from the Christian-National Union, and Gabriel Janowski from the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord) spoke of the necessity of uniting. A speech by Szeremietiew led to reconciliation with Leszek Moczulski. The chairman of the Movement for the Republic was a cofounder of the KPN, which he left after a conflict with Moczulski. Both politicians fell in each others arms on Saturday, not hiding tears of emotion.

Another guest at the congress was PSL leader Franciszek Stefaniuk, who passed on "greetings from the peasants" to the delegates. "Christian and national values overlap in our programs," said Stefaniuk. At a news conference, Krzysztof Krol [KPN] was asked about the presence of a deputy from the PSL, a party cooperating with the postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance in Oleksy's government. "Increasingly more people within the PSL ask why their party is in the very coalition that disregards peasant interests," Krol explained, announcing that a meeting between one of the PSL leaders, Sejm speaker Jozef Zych, and representatives of St. Catherine's Covenant is to be held next week.

SdRP Youth Support Kwasniewski for President

WS2305103895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 May 95 p 5

[Article by Agata Nowakowska: "Aleksander Kwasniewski's Younger Brothers; Socialist Liberals"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Last Saturday, the Youth Faction of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] supported Aleksander Kwasniewski's candidacy for the presidential elections to be held this fall, and wants to support him in his election campaign.*

They are thinking of political careers. Some have already run in the self-government elections. Aleksander Kwasniewski is their idol. "Dynamic. He is a symbol of the new SdRP image," they say. Krzysztof Szydlowski, 27, a graduate of law at the Maria Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin, currently a broker, has been elected as chairman of the faction for a second term. [passage omitted]

Capitalism Is Inhuman

"Throwing away socialism in haste would be at least controversial. Capitalism is only a phase. Why should we stop at that?" asked Jakub Rzekanowski, 21, a student of political science at Warsaw University.

He explained to his colleagues that the West built its wealth on exploiting colonies, that the death rate of infants in New York is higher than in Jamaica, and that the development of electronics causes higher unemployment.

Does everyone in the assembly hall share equally radical views?

"I am a socialist, but there are also communists. The majority, however, are socioliberals," says Jakub. [passage omitted]

Others, approached by GAZETA WYBORCZA, declare that they are for Poland's joining NATO and the EU. They claim they are "economic liberals." [passage omitted]

UP Head Interviewed on Elections, Party Problems

WS2205133495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 May 95 p 3

[Interview with Union of Labor Chairman Ryszard Bugaj by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given: "Presidential Elections Involve a Risk"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Olczyk] Activists of the Union of Labor [UP] have engaged in the election campaigns of two presidential candidates: Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Zielinski. There are rumors that some members of the party also intend to campaign for Aleksander Kwasniewski. Does this not mean that UP is on the verge of a split today?

[Bugaj] This involvement in campaigns may turn into a problem; it may, but it does not have to. Aside from that, the situation in our party is not unique in this respect. The situation in other parties is similar. After Jacek Kuron did not receive our nomination, Jan Maria Rokita said: Well, that is great—at last Kuron will wage a sharp rightist, anticommunist campaign. If Rokita said something like that, one must conclude that he would like Kuron to be defeated. He knows perfectly well, after all, that Kuron will have zero chance of success if he decides to conduct a rightist and anticommunist campaign.

We would not be having all these problems if it were all the same to us who is elected president and if we had said: We ought to field our own man. We did not do this. We sacrificed the party's aspirations to the possibility of finding a candidate who might be approved by a wider spectrum. We do not know whether we have been successful.

Both candidates—Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Zielinski—declared that they do not want to compete with each other. They said that, depending on the results of public opinion polls, they could see the possibility of one of them retreating from the elections.

The party, as an institution, must support Zielinski, and I will see to it that it does. It must also be remembered, however, that Zielinski is not simply a UP candidate. If UP were the only organization that engaged in his campaign, he would become one more candidate supported by some party. Much will depend on whether we will manage to persuade other organizations and nonassociated citizens to back Zielinski. In early fall, at the beginning of September, we will finally be able to answer the question of whether our strategic plan to field a candidate supported by a broader spectrum and to prevent Aleksander Kwasniewski or Lech Walesa from winning the elections has a chance of success.

I believe that Karol Modzelewski [honorary UP chairman, who split with the party after it decided to support Zielinski for president] said a little too early that our conception would be a failure, even though there is no doubt that the decision made by our congress has included yet another politician in the election campaign. [passage omitted]

I believe that there are two factors that will make a split in UP impossible. First, I do not think Tadeusz Zielinski will allow himself to be used as an instrument. Second, it seems that UP has created some kind of political identity that sets it apart from other parties. [passage omitted]

[Olczyk] Actually, the blame for the entire commotion should be laid at the door of the party's leadership, which has invented two candidates from outside UP instead of settling for only one contender.

[Bugaj] It was I who "invented" Tadeusz Zielinski. I believe, however, that no matter what the leadership had done, these two candidates would have met at our congress anyway. Many young people in UP engaged in Jacek Kuron's election campaign and demanded long before the congress was held that his candidacy be supported. I believe we were in no position to avoid these elections. [Olczyk] And you ran the risk of causing a crisis in the party.

[Bugaj] I do not agree to the use of the word "crisis." I believe that the situation that has developed can be termed as some kind of commotion. One of the reasons for this commotion was that at the congress we decided to back a candidate, but we did not establish what this would mean in practical terms. [passage omitted]

[Olczyk] At the congress you voted for the candidacy of Jacek Kuron. Would you back him in the election campaign if Kuron asked you?

[Bugaj] If I came to the conclusion that Jacek Kuron's chances of success in the presidential elections are visibly better than those of Tadeusz Zielinski, I myself would go and ask him to allow me to join his election campaign. I believe I would remain loyal to our firm because the real meaning of our decision was to prevent Lech Walesa or Aleksander Kwasniewski from winning the election.

The presidential election involves a great risk. The old configuration of the Polish United Workers Party, with connections and networks of friends, already has much influence in Poland on the level of the government and the parliament. If you add the head of state to it, and if we realize that this configuration has the support of the so-called enfranchised nomenklatura, the election of Aleksander Kwasniewski may really be dangerous. The election of Lech Walesa is equally dangerous, but for slightly different reasons. People should realize this and put their partisan interests aside.

Daily on PSL, Rightist Groups' Rapprochement

WS2205135995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 May 95 p 3

[Commentary by Agata Nowakowska: "The Right Flirts With the Peasants"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Relations between part of the right and the coalitionist Polish Peasant Party [PSL] are warming.*

St. Catherine's Covenant, uniting minor center-right groupings, the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], and "Solidarity," plans to invite Sejm Speaker Zych [PSL] for a chat.

The men are to discuss the date of the elections, and, as KPN's Krzysztof Krol frankly admitted, the support the peasants might lend to the rightist candidate in the second round of elections. The PSL might call for voting against Kwasniewski, the presidential candidate of its coalitionist partner.

On Saturday, Deputy Chairman of PSL Franciszek Stefaniuk put in an appearance at the KPN congress. He spoke of Christian and national values that are close to both the right and the peasants. Encouraging agreement, he quoted his favorite byword: "There is no strong country in the world with a society at war."

The KPN delegates and their invited guests from rightist groupings fiercely attacked the government and the coalition. They politely avoided talking of the role played by the PSL. Krol even attempted to rouse sympathy for the peasants among the journalists present by showing that they were forced to cogovern and are taken advantage of by the "red spiders" from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD].

Part of the anticommunist right is obviously willing to forgive the peasants for having taken sides with the SLD in exchange for their assistance in conquering "commie" Kwasniewski in the presidential election. The rightists dream that their victorious candidate will dissolve the Sejm—with the PSL's assistance—and establish a peasant-rightist government. One could imagine it being headed by, for example...Waldemar Pawlak.

Pawlak has already made one attempt to persuade the peasants to break off the coalition with the SLD and accelerate the election after the downfall of his Cabinet. Perhaps the peasants affiliated with him are already considering dealing the deck of cards anew?

Maybe the PSL wants to play all the pianos, as usual, and be friendly with everyone without cutting off its way into any coalition?

Daily Speculates on Possible Date of Election

WS2205143795 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 22 May 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ewa Rosolak and Jakub Rzekanowski: "Will We Vote for the President in October?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We will choose the date of the election so as to prevent the election from harming Poland," said Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych back in March. At the time, he did not see any reason for heeding the suggestions of Aleksander Kwasniewski and holding the presidential election at the earliest possible date, in October.

Now Speaker Zych has announced that by 28 May he will reach a decision on the date of the election. Until then he will conduct consultations and, as he declared in March, continue his talks with parliamentary and extraparliamentary groups.

"The best date for the election is one that is acceptable to the majority," says Tomasz Nalecz (Union of Labor—UP). "To the best of my knowledge, the majority of candidates want an early election. I therefore believe that the election should be held at the earliest possible date. UP has not discussed this issue yet. I do think, however, that the majority of UP shares my opinion. We hope Speaker Zych will meet with us within the framework of the consultations he has announced, and we will then adopt an official stance."

"We are for the earliest possible, optimum date for the election," says Zbigniew Siemiatkowski (Democratic Left Alliance). "We think October would be best. Having the election in October would make the campaign shorter and more dynamic. This way we can be spared many unnecessary statements, words, and gestures. A speedy campaign would bring the period of uncertainty to an end for the candidates and would give the government more breathing room by allowing it begin work on next year's budget."

"For us," declares Janusz Piechocinski (Polish Peasant Party), "the best and most rational date would be the second or third Sunday of October. This is the optimum date. Any suggestions of having the election earlier should be dismissed as political play." It cannot be held later because the weather conditions on election day will have an impact on attendance. The candidates should aspire to competing with high attendance, especially as such are the social expectations. Speaker Jozef Zych has announced that he would soon finalize his consultations with political forces and officially announce the date of the election.

Several days ago, a "deep belief that the date of the election would be announced as soon as possible" was expressed by the head of the Presidential Chancellery, Tomasz Kwiatkowski.

According to Article 29, Paragraph 7 of the Small Constitution, the election is called by "the speaker of the Sejm no earlier than four months and no later than three months before the term of office of the incumbent president expires (...), setting a date within two months of the day the election is called."

Lech Walesa was sworn into office on 22 December 1990. Considering that date, the following sequence of events is possible:

—On 22 August, Speaker Zych calls the election, in line with the will of the majority;

—The presidential election is held on 15 October at the earliest, or, counting a full two months, on 22 October;

—Within seven days, the speaker establishes the State Electoral Commission [PKW] and, in due time, the voivodship and district electoral commissions;

—Within 20 days of the date the Sejm speaker calls the election, names of candidates for the presidential office may be submitted. Political and social organizations as well as voters may put forth candidates. The candidate's written consent is required. An application must also bear at least 100,000 supporting signatures.

Preparations are already under way on two levels: in the National Electoral Bureau [KBW] and in the campaign headquarters of the particular candidates.

The KBW and the PKW are working on the organizational aspects, analyzing, among other things, computer programs and considering whether they can be applied as a tool for establishing the results of the election and counting votes. Once the date of the election is known, the PKW will analyze the developed draft executive laws on voter registers, decide on their final shape, and approve them. It will also decide what the voting cards are to look like. Everything the electoral regulations delegate to the PKW is prepared by the KBW.

The candidates' preparations run along different paths. Many of them spend sleepless nights on account of the required signatures and the money they need for the campaign.

Amendments to Law on State Protection Drafted

WS1905123195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 May 95 p 2

[Article by "KES": "Police Law Amendments: UOP Will Not Combat Economic Crimes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Office of State Protection [UOP] will not conduct surveillance against or investigate economic offenders. That is the decision reached yesterday by commissions that are to present the Sejm with drafts of the so-called police laws.

Deputies from the Freedom Union protested the government's suggestion that UOP should "identify and counteract crimes undermining the economic security of the state." According to Jerzy Ciemniewski, making UOP responsible for economic crimes would place that office above the police, just as was the case with the Security Services in the past. Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski argued that the police do not have enough experts to crack crimes. The authority of UOP (counteracting criminal activities targeted against the state and terrorism) will be extended only to uncover illicit production, arms trade and possession, trade of narcotics and radioactive materials. The commissions agreed that the police, UOP, and Border Guards should have the right to carry out controlled purchases, resort to blackmail, and track mail packages containing drugs.

Government Drafts Plan To Repay Budget Sector

WS2205115995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 May 95 p 17

[Article by Artur Morka: "The Budget Sector and Pensioners; How Will the Government Repay Its Debt?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Compensation for 3.5 million people to whom the government owes 65 trillion old zlotys [Z] for unvalorized pensions and budget-sector salaries in 1991 and 1992. Concrete facts for the first time.*

The Privatization Ministry has drafted a compensation project. Compensation is to be paid in the form of compensatory share certificates of investment funds.

Compensation Certificates

Compensatory share certificates are to have the status of bearer stocks and will be gratuitous. Eligibility rights, however, cannot be extended to second parties. Once the compensation funds are listed on the stock exchange (perhaps by mid-1996), the certificates may be sold.

The Privatization Ministry is considering two variants for distributing the certificates: material and nonmaterial.

In the first case, the certificates would be sent to the recipients by mail. They could then be immediately sold—for example, to brokerage offices or exchange houses.

In the second variant, the certificates would be deposited at brokerage offices. Immediately upon receiving notice that a certificate has been issued, the recipients could sell them through the brokers. They could also open investment accounts after paying a certain fee.

Mass Privatization Project [PPP] for Pensioners and the Budget Sector The Ministry is currently developing a law on compensatory funds, modeling it after the law on National Investment Funds [NFI], which provides for the privatization of 400 huge companies. Their shares are to be distributed among 15 NFI's. All adult Poles are entitled to purchase NFI shares. The price of one share should not exceed 10 percent of the average salary (as of the day the project is launched).

The shares may be converted at a later time into fund stocks, which would appear on the stock exchange.

The NFI law provides that part of the shares of companies included in the PPP, worth at least Z50 trillion [old], would be allocated to establishing those funds.

Five Rich, Inactive Funds

The regulations that are currently being developed provide for compensation funds to be launched in early October 1995. There will be at least five, and they would not be directly involved in managing the assets of their companies.

The funds' assets would include:

—up to 25 percent of shares of each company included in the PPP;

—shares of companies owned by the State Treasury that are not included in the PPP;

—part of the shares of the so-called sector funds established by the Privatization Ministry (for example, the steelwork investment fund).

The funds are to be listed on the stock exchange, but only after 50 percent of the companies they manage are listed there.

Just like in the PPP, the funds' assets will be managed by expert managerial companies.

Rentiers Upon Orders

The majority of those eligible for compensation are senior citizens and lowest income groups. The Privatization Ministry suspects that elderly people will sell their certificates the moment they receive them because "they trust shares less than they do money."

It is highly improbable, the Privatization Ministry admits, that the worth of the compensation certificates will be higher than their nominal value.

Another danger is that public interest in the PPP may prove small, and, as a result, the revenues from mass certificate distribution will be low. It would be then impossible to launch the compensation project without a budget subsidy (Z300-400 billion [old]).

The Privatization Ministry also admits that, if these pitfalls are to be avoided, the mass part of the PPP should be launched first (this is most likely to happen in November 1995). The compensation fund project may be launched only once the mass share certificate market is stable.

Ministry Considers Anti-Inflation Measures

WS2305114795 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 22 May 95 p 2

[Article by Halina Dowda: "Is Agriculture Fueling Inflation?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"No decision has been made on lifting tariffs on imports of dairy products or any other items, at that," TRYBUNA was informed by the spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture, Tomasz Karnkowski. "During a meeting of top authorities, at which Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko was also present, the basic assumptions of the Agriculture Ministry's budget for next year were discussed. Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko was interested primarily in inflation, and he inquired about the possibilities of curbing the growth of food prices."*

It was decided that the Ministry of Agriculture will prepare an analysis of food price growth and its impact on inflation. Not only purchasing prices cause retail prices to grow, and not only food prices fuel inflation.

It was explained that it is currently the seasonal preharvest period, concluding a year that saw a huge decrease in plant production. The seasonal milk purchases are beginning to rise, which will remove the reasons for the increase of dairy product prices.

At the request of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, the Ministry of Agriculture will examine the possibilities of introducing quotas on duty-free imports of selected dairy products. A final decision, however, may be made only once an analysis is carried out. Such an analysis is not possible before the nearest session of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

Let us hope that dairy products will not have to be imported at the height of the dairy industry season, one cannot help but comment on the Agricultural Ministry spokesman's statement. Experts clearly recognize the reasons for the sudden growth of the prices of milk and dairy products. First, milk production has dropped by approximately 45 percent as compared with 1989. Second, milk purchases were a mere 6 billion liters last year, as compared with the minimum of 8 billion that is required if the market is to function normally.

The collapse of milk production was not a bolt out of the blue. Since 1992, agriculture has suffered two severe droughts and successive slumps in production—first grains, then pork. Each plunge caused prices of grains, pork—and now milk—to soar.

Many factors are to blame for the accelerated growth of food prices, although it does begin with a slump in production—in this case in the agricultural sector. The major factor is trade. For three years now, retail food prices have been growing far more quickly than the prices of agricultural produce and selling prices of products of the food industry.

Distributors accumulate wealth at the expense of both consumers and farmers. Transformation toward a market economy has effectively reduced stored supplies. So-called campaign industries, which have to accumulate production input for a whole year ahead, are dying.

Effective interventionism carried out by the Agency for Agricultural Marketing in February and March halted the growth of prices on grains, sugar, and butter. Thus postulates should be raised for the Agency to widen the scope of its interventionist activities on the food market. Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko wants to "intervene on the agricultural market more actively than ever." If those are the intentions of the government, the state must have larger food supplies than the hitherto reserves, which implies the need to allocate more means for this purpose.

Anti-inflation measures in agriculture, if they are to be more than a catchy slogan, should be focused on stabilizing agricultural production. The decline in the production of grains, potatoes, sugar, and milk caused a high growth of prices at the end of 1994 and in early 1995. Yet meat prices were not affected. Is this not surprising? The secret is that both pork production and demand are high.

Effect of Dollar's Drop on Budget, Debt

95EP0084A Poznan WPROST in Polish 19 Mar 95 No 12, pp 13-14

[Article by Piotr Andrzejewski: "The [Deutsch]mark of the Dollar: If the Decline of the Dollar Is Lasting, the Cost of Servicing the Polish Debt and Hence Also Our Budget Deficit Will Decrease"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Monday 6 March proved a disaster to the NBP's [National Bank of Poland] anachronistic system of fixing currency exchange rates. The table prepared on the basis of the previous Friday's quotation of the dollar on the Frankfurt stock exchange proved a dud. After a weeklong decline in the price of the American currency on the world markets, dealers had forecast that the purchase price of the dollar should not exceed Z2.31 [new zlotys], but officially it was Z2.3682. The requirement of a single daily quotation made it impossible to adjust the exchange rate instantaneously. It was only on Wednesday 33 that the dollar dropped to Z1.3051.

The exchange rate of the zloty is determined on taking into account the quotations on the Frankfurt stock exchange and the NBP's procedures for a "creeping" monthly 1.2-percent devaluation of the zloty against the currency basket. In that basket the dollar accounts for 45 percent, the mark 35 percent, the British pound 10 percent, and the French and Swiss francs 5 percent each. The shocks on the international currency market are thus "filtered" so that any sudden drop in the value of one currency is offset by a rise in the value of another. Over three days the dollar dropped 2.73 percent in value and the mark during the same time increased 2.69 percent in value.

Professor Marian Gorynia of the Chair of International Trade at the Economics Academy in Poznan declared, "The issue of the consequences of the decline in the dollar's value concerns chiefly how lasting is that decline. The American economy displays very good indicators: Last year its GDP grew by 3.7 percent, and inflation did not exceed 3 percent and unemployment 6 percent. On the other hand the minuses are the huge budget deficit and the negative foreign trade balance."

In the opinion of Janusz Wesolowski, director of the Foreign Department at the Ministry of Finance, should the dollar's decline prove to be lasting, its effect on the Polish economy may chiefly concern foreign trade and the status of our foreign debt. According to NBP data, 49 percent of payments in Polish exports and 40 percent in imports are made in dollars. This means a nearly 50-percent drop in export revenues as well as imports that are cheaper by 40 percent. Since we import more than we export, the balance seems to be in an equilibrium.

Trade with our biggest partner, Germany, accounts for 36 percent of Polish exports and 27 percent of imports. The rise in the value of the mark is advantageous to us, because we have an export surplus of more than 10 percent, and it is rising in proportion to the rise in the exchange rate of the mark. Thus, automobiles imported from Germany (about 43 percent of Polish automotive imports) will cost more, as will books (20 percent of book imports), paper and cardboard (20 percent of their imports); and gasoline and oil. On the other hand, we will earn more from our exports of clothing, wicker articles, plastics, fruit juices, and products of the electronics and chemical industries.

The drop in the value of the dollar may also affect the status of our foreign debt. A change has taken place in this respect following last year's reductions at the Club of London and the Club of Paris. According to the Institute of Business Cycles and Prices, the share of the dollar [in Poland's foreign debt] has risen from 38 percent at the end of 1993 to 51 percent in 1994, while the share of the mark declined from 21 to 12.2 percent. Our debt to the Club of London, which associates private creditors, is reckoned almost entirely in dollars. Our debt to the "government" Club of Paris, on the other hand, is reckoned 32.3 percent in dollars and 12.7 percent in marks. If the dollar drop proves lasting, the cost of our debt servicing will diminish, as will also the size of our budget deficit.

Holders of dollar loans denominated in zlotys will have reasons for satisfaction if the dollar drop is lasting. A 2-percent decline in the value of the dollar means a corresponding decrease in the value of debt repayments, even if that is somewhat offset by the scheduled monthly devaluation of the zloty—proportionately to the "currency basket"—by 0.54 percent. "Mark" borrowers are in a converse situation. For them the cost of debt servicing is, on the other hand, augmented by the scheduled monthly 0.42 percent devaluation of the zloty against the mark.

For now those profiting most were the individuals who could exploit the day-long lag in NBP-fixed exchange rates compared with up-to-the-minute floating Western quotations. On the scale of a single day the profit per dollar was nearly 2 groszy. It also looks like people who invest in purchasing dollars at the lowest exchange rates cited by currency exchange bureaus are going to profit handsomely, because much indicates that the Federal Reserve will ultimately hike the interest rate.

Organizational Changes in Air Forces

94EP0086A Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ in Polish Mar 95 No 3, pp I-X

[Interview with Brigadier General Henryk Pietrzak, chief of staff of the Air Forces and Air Defense, by the editor in chief of PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ, Col. Jozef Gomolka; place and date not given: "Restructuring: Expectations and Possibilities"]

[Text] [Gomolka] Last year we celebrated many anniversaries of World War II battles, and this year we shall celebrate the 50th anniversary of the end of that war. Many scientific and popular publications on this topic have appeared. Thus anyone can enhance his knowledge, and WLOP [Air Forces and Air Defense] troops undoubtedly are doing so. But as for information on the current operations and future of our arm of service, that is rather skimpy. General, in your opinion, what is impeding this information from reaching the lowest rungs of command, sir?

[Pietrzak] I do not quite agree that such information is skimpy. Some commanders think the opposite, claiming that the WLOP is promoting its image rather intensively and too broadly in the mass media, compared with the other armed services. I believe that national and regional projects being organized by the WLOP High Command and units, such as air shows, rallies of wartime air force veterans, holidays of units and the attendant "open houses" at barracks, as well as articles in the daily and military press, including PRZEGLAD WLiOP and WIRAZE, provide an adequate source of information on the activities and training of the troops.

The future—both near and distant—of our troops has never been nor is a secret. Work on the ultimate shape and equipment of the troops is continuing, but it hardly seems pertinent to describe here in detail the variants being considered. The general nature and basic aspects of the anticipated organizational changes are presented to unit commanders at annual briefings. Likewise, as part of "zonal air force community meetings," WLOP commanders and staff officers have briefed the cadre about the planned organizational changes, the classification of specified garrisons in the "promising" and "unpromising" groups, and the expected problems in finding jobs for the cadre. So then, the WLOP High Command has never kept nor is keeping secret its planned disbanding and reorganization of certain units, being chiefly concerned for enabling the cadre to find employment within or outside the military.

[Gomolka] This is the fifth year since the merger of the Air Force and the Air Defense Troops. Under our military restructuring program, a new branch of the Polish Armed Forces has arisen—the Air Force and Air Defense Troops. Their merger was occasioned by new defense concepts ensuing from the current doctrine, and it also met the expectations of the soldiers in steel-gray uniforms.

[Pietrzak] Indeed, the integration of these two arms of service has been advantageous from various points of view. Responsibility for performing air-defense objectives, which are of special importance to the external security system of our state, has been transferred to a single commander. By the same token, substantial forces and resources of the reconnaissance system, about 85 percent of the fighter planes (the remainder belonging to the Navy), and, as an inseparable component of air defense, strike planes that can strike the aggressor's facilities. In addition, command structures also were simplified.

The merger of the two armed services also has met the expectations of their personnel. Our organization and training were integrated; for example, the fighter-plane regiments of the former Air Forces and the National Air Defense Forces, which in practice performed the same objectives, used to be based on totally different organizational structures and different forms of tactical training, and to have little in common as regards their everyday training activities.

[Gomolka] How are the expectations of the troops being met routinely?

[Pietrzak] While the integration has produced positive results, its darker side cannot be overlooked. Life has shown that the expectations of many soldiers in steel-gray uniforms—and of a segment of the society as well—have not been met so far as improvements in the cadre's housing situation and social services are concerned. The already acute housing shortage has become exacerbated owing to the transfers of cadre to other garrisons of "combined troops." Suffice it to mention that more than 3,000 WLOP career military still lack housing, and within the WLOP High Command alone some 200 personnel are waiting for housing or for better housing conditions. That too is a consequence of the integration and restructuring processes affecting our troops. I hope that these problems are temporary and the expectations of the troops will also be met in this respect.

[Gomolka] We have a new national defense doctrine and new objectives for various branches of the Polish Armed Forces, including the WLOP. Consider the instances in which air forces have been used in modern conflicts (and not just in the Persian Gulf).

[Pietrzak] The extensive related experience and conclusions drawn from modern armed conflicts indicate clearly that the side which dominates in the air can count on success in the activities of its troop on land and sea. This was made particularly evident in the Persian Gulf.

[Gomolka] In that context how can the role of the WLOP in the Polish Armed Forces be defined?

[Pietrzak] The role of the air forces, that being the appellation to which we should become accustomed, as declared by the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, ensues from the objectives they perform. The principal objective of the air forces is to prevent the enemy from dominating the airspace above Polish territory. This objective is pursued as part of air defense operations and performed by both cooperating (offensive and defensive) components of the air defense system.

I wish to emphasize once more that normal life in this country and the success or failure of the Army and the Navy—even before they begin combat—hinge on the extent to which the air forces perform their principal objective. This mirrors the role and place of the air forces in the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic. [Gomolka] How is this role to be defined in the context of Poland's admission to NATO?

I am certain that in that context too the Polish Air Forces will play a principal role. The contacts so far with NATO countries, along with contacts under "Partnership for Peace," indicate that integrating our military forces with NATO structures must be preceded by, chiefly restructuring our command, reconnaissance, air traffic, and air rescue systems so as to make them compatible with their NATO counterparts. This concerns chiefly the management of Polish airspace—the restructuring and modernization of the air traffic system and its adaptation to European standards. The pace of changes—here I refer only to problems of a military nature and not political ones—and of the adjustment of these systems will, I believe, determine the ability of the Polish air forces to be integrated with NATO structures.

In the event that our military forces are incorporated in NATO the principal objectives of our air forces will remain the same. But we expect changes in the manner of their performance, in view of the expected changeover in weaponry. I admit that we link incorporation in NATO structures to hopes for a rapid equipping of units with new armaments, including modern multipurpose aircraft.

[Gomolka] In this connection, what should the corresponding organizational structure of the Polish Air Forces be like?

[Pietrzak] The Air Forces High Command does not anticipate in its plans any revolutionary changes in organizational structure. The existing structure is conditioned by many factors and most importantly by the objectives implemented by troops and individual units as well by weapons, combat equipment, reconnaissance, and command systems (collection, processing, and transfer of data), and logistical systems (network of airfields, barracks, etc.). In general, plans envisage the air forces to consist of three operational-tactical teams, each including combat units and command, reconnaissance, and logistical support systems, along with units directly subordinated to the Air Forces High Command, including professional training units such as the Air Forces Higher Officer Training School in Deblin along with aviation training centers in Deblin, Radom, and Biala Podlaska, the CSR [expansion unknown; probably refers to a training center] in Jelenia Gora, the CSIL [expansion unknown; probably refers to a training center] in Olesnica, the OSSSam [expansion unknown, probably officers school] in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, and the OSSRt [Radio-Engineer Officer Training School] in Mragow.

[Gomolka] To what extent will the air forces and air defense forces be concentrated within the Air Forces of the Republic of Poland?

[Pietrzak] The Air Forces High Command holds to the view that a single command should be coordinating all the forces and resources of the reconnaissance, command, active combat resources, air traffic, air rescue, and logistical supply subsystems. Incidentally, when I speak of active combat resources, I am referring to both the defense component, i.e., fighter aircraft and missile troops, and the offensive component—attack aircraft. Moreover, the Air Forces High Command favors maintaining the same hierarchical structure of command at various levels both in peacetime and in time of war, along with an unequivocal and clear structure of organizational-training responsibility in peacetime. Hence, the commander who is responsible for national air defense should be the official superior of all the forces and resources belonging in the air defense system, and he should bear the responsibility for their preparation and utilization in combat operations.

[Gomolka] Then to what degree should be the Army and Navy air forces be developed?

[Pietrzak] The organizational structure of the aviation units associated with military districts and the Polish Navy is subject to approval by the Air Forces High Command. This has been worked out, with the participation of representatives of our own command as well, two or three years ago. These kinds of aviation are developing and I believe that they have a future. Plans exist to equip Army Air Force units, including 25 Air Cavalry Division, with Polish-produced helicopters. The Deblin Air Forces Higher Officer Training School has developed curricula and commenced the training of a large number of pilots for the Army Air Force.

Irrespective of the decisions already taken, experts at our Command believe that attack-helicopter units and medium-sized transport helicopters should be retained within the organizational structure of the air forces. They would be the reserve of the Supreme Commander and remain at his disposal in all stages of defense operations.

Maintaining even relatively limited forces at the disposition of the central command produces much better results than maintaining considerable forces dispersed among the lower organizational levels. History has proved this.

[Gomolka] How will the fighter and attack aircraft be organized?

[Pietrzak] As mentioned, we are linking our plans to the introduction of multipurpose aircraft in aviation units. We expect aircraft of this kind to have a great potential for combatting air targets while at the same time being capable of transporting large quantities of weaponry, carrying out precision strikes, destroying ground (and water-surface) targets, and conducting aerial reconnaissance. The differences among units of various kinds of aviation (fighter-bombers, fighters, reconnaissance aircraft) would then be reduced to different orientations of training and the use of suitable modifications of the same aircraft type in various branches of aviation. The organization of squadrons of different branches of aviation equipped with the same aircraft type will not differ too much from the current organization.

[Gomolka] Aerial reconnaissance is one of the most important and regular objectives. How can its implementation be assured?

[Pietrzak] Aerial reconnaissance is a component of the reconnaissance system. The resources used for this purpose are the principal source of information on the air situation on approaches to Polish borders as well as over Polish territory. This enables the high command to place combat forces in a state of readiness ahead of the threat and to use them effectively.

Aerial reconnaissance serves to provide information on the facilities (including maneuvering) and manpower in the interior of the enemy grouping and in his rear echelon—information needed by commanders, staffs, and troops to organize and engage in combat operations.

The Air Forces High Command believes in the continuing importance of aerial reconnaissance to obtaining information about the enemy. The planes currently available to reconnaissance aviation (MiG-21R and SU-20R) are equipped with old-generation photographic and radioelectronic reconnaissance devices. Within the next few years these aircraft will have to be retired as they reach the end of their operating life. The plans for the acquisition of multipurpose aircraft give priority to the reconnaissance version of these aircraft, needed to equip the reconnaissance squadron. Another variant (which takes into consideration the limited funds available for the acquisition of a larger number of multipurpose aircraft in the next few years and the deferral of such acquisitions to subsequent years) provides for modernizing some 15 SU-22 aircraft and adapting them to carrying reconnaissance equipment and implementing reconnaissance objectives.

[Gomolka] What future awaits the WLOP's Missile Troops? What are the plans for restructuring them after the year 2000?

[Pietrzak] No twilight of the Missile Troops is expected. On the contrary, they will remain, along with fighter aviation, the principal component of the subsystem of active combat resources in the air defense system. Likewise, there will be no revolutionary changes in the organizational structure of the Missile Troops. At first the possibility of re-forming missile battalions into regiments was considered, but later, following consultations and meetings with their cadre, the Air Forces High Command took into consideration recommendations and suggestions and dropped this idea.

The work on organizational structures in successive stages (after the year 2000) will probably not change much either. It may be that, as in the Army, where the basic unit is the brigade, the same organizational structure will be adopted, but this has not been definitely resolved (I am referring here to Air Forces and Radio-Engineering troops).

[Gomolka] Will air-defense missiles be introduced in defense, and if so, what kind?

[Pietrzak] The Missile Troops of the Air Forces operate distant-, medium-, and short-range missiles. The short-range missiles will be modernized at Polish plants according to Polish blueprints, in accord with Western technology. To oversimplify it greatly, the modernization of the PZR Neva missile will serve to markedly shorten time needed for launching and for reaching readiness to repel the next air attack. This modernized missile on a caterpillar-track chassis has passed tests successfully and was demonstrated during the Karat-94 Exercise. Its modernization will make it possible to operate the PZR Neva until about the year 2015.

The Volkhov medium-range missiles will not be modernized owing to technical and financial considerations. Instead, they will be gradually retired, one after another, as their operating lives run out. Thus it is expedient to replace them by acquiring new mobile, multichannel missiles that are resistant to radioelectronic noise and highly effective and reliable. These requirement are met by the U.S.-made Patriot missiles and Russian-made S-300. The decision to acquire a particular type of missile is not up to the Air Forces High Command alone, even though we have made specific and warranted proposals on this subject.

For direct protection of command posts (at various levels), air bases, and other facilities, plans exist to acquire Stalagmit and Loara artillery-missile combinations and portable PZR Grom rocket launchers (all domestically produced). They will replace the currently operated highly obsolete portable PZR Strzala-2M and 37- and 57-mm antiaircraft guns.

[Gomolka] The performance of Radio-Engineering Troops last year has been evaluated as good, especially personnel training. We are aware, however, that the performance of their objectives by radio engineers hinges greatly on the available resources, and their supply is not the best. Will the possibilities for the supply of radar and radio-engineering equipment for the training of air-force and missile troops improve this year?

[Pietrzak] True. The activities of the Radio-Engineering Troops of the Air Defense System have received a high rating. The state of the training of cadre and of the personnel in basic military service as well as the technical condition of radio-engineering equipment warrant a good execution of all the objectives posed to the Radio-Engineering Troops. However, the basic reserves are running out. The drastic slashing of spending on equipment repair and acquisition of spare parts and on any substantial quantity of new equipment is causing a decline in the indicators of equipment efficiency. The problems are worsened by the personnel shortages among Radio-Engineering Troops. The situation will grow even worse now that the duration of basic military service has been shortened to 12 months—it will be more difficult to train radio-engineering units, and at the same time the training of other branches of the Air Forces also will be complicated.

The main concern of the Air Forces High Command and the command of the Radio-Engineering Troops is to maintain the radar of air-force and missile troops in operational readiness, both in their daily training activities and while standing round-the-clock combat watch at a level assuring a secure implementation of objectives. It is not that easy, believe me; however, the proper organization of activities , and, above all the efforts and commitment of the personnel, are producing results.

[Gomolka] Is there a possibility that the lower limit of the complete radar coverage of the entire Polish territory may be reduced?

[Pietrzak] Such a possibility indeed exists, but on several conditions, especially provided that substantial funding is allocated for the acquisition of equipment. Reducing the lower limit of the radar field may be accomplished in a two fold manner. First, by markedly increasing the number of simultaneously operating radar outposts on duty, inclusive of the new ones established in the east and north of this country. Second, by including AWACS-type aerial radar reconnaissance aircraft in the equipment of the Air Forces. Both approaches have been considered in the plans of the Air Forces High Command but, for obvious reasons, they will have to remain on paper for the immediate future.

[Gomolka] What equipment can the radio engineers expect to receive, and what effects will its application produce?

[Pietrzak] Polish industry has the design and manufacturing potential for providing the Radio-Engineering Troops with the needed quantities of truly modern radar equipment at a high European or even world level. Polish-produced three-coordinate radar stations can fully meet the needs of the military. Using them to replace the currently operated radar stations (to the extent of 40-45 percent of the existing equipment) will improve field parameters and at the same time serve to reduce the numbers of personnel in radio-engineering units.

[Gomolka] Recently units have been receiving information about many new rules governing training and educational activities, including the "General and Disciplinary Manual of Rules" and "Training Methodology." To what extent have their provisions been applied so far?

[Pietrzak] In addition to the manuals you mentioned, let me also name the "Army Manual of Tactical Operations, Parts I and II," introduced and applied by Order No. 94/Staff of 7 October 1994 of the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army. All these manuals, so important to the functioning of the Polish Armed Forces are being introduced into practice. Their contents have been mastered in theory to a good extent, as confirmed by tests conducted at all organizational levels of the Air Forces. This year the provisions of these manuals are going to be introduced into training practice.

[Gomolka] What has changed in operational-tactical training?

[Pietrzak] New instructions governing operational-tactical training will necessitate a new look at the problems considered in the methodological documentation of training and exercises, without however introducing any revolutionary changes in the training process.

Training organizers will continue to focus efforts on assuring the integration of troop training. Integrated

tactical-combat training conducted by corps commanders with the participation of various armed services (including units of the Air Forces and Defense Troops
and
at
personnel for participation in advanced forms of training such as the Karat Exercise involving combat fire
by
Forces
tions,
which
of the Polish Republic will be tested.

[Gomolka] The poor financial condition of the Army and the Air Forces is commonly known, and that condition also indirectly decides the level of combat readiness. General, what, in your opinion, are the attendant dangers, sir?

[Pietrzak] Financial condition directly affects the level
of
not be demonized, but it certainly matters substantially
in
affects combat preparedness. But of course, the role of
human
minimized.

Fund shortages cause a considerable part of equipment and weaponry to remain in operation even after the expiration of their service life. Given the attendant
shortage
a periodic decrease in the normative indicators of combat readiness is bound to happen.

Another danger, ensuing directly from the poor financial condition of the defense ministry, is the difficulties in implementing the "Concept of Providing the Air Defense System with Weaponry and Equipment," as well as the attendant need to postpone new purchases (both domestically and abroad), which may cause additional complications.

A no less important problem is the failure to meet social expectations as regards the services and amenities that can be provided to recruits in basic military service and the career military, and in particular the failure to resolve major housing problems, as I already mentioned.

[Gomolka] The nature of the objectives performed by the Air Forces obligates their staff to engage in broad cooperation of training, both within and without this arm of service. General, how do you assess this cooperation between the Air Forces and the [Army] military districts, the Navy, and other partners, including foreign ones, sir?

[Pietrzak] Training objectives are performed by Air Forces units in cooperation with military districts and the Navy. I have already mentioned the integrated tactical-combat training which is the basic form of training various arms of service and services. Air Forces units are participating in most of the exercises organized by the military districts and the Navy. Their preparation for this requires coordination of training plans and cooperation of the staff liaison officers responsible for drafting documents and planning a safe performance of training objectives. I evaluate such cooperation in training as good.

As for joint training with foreign partners, here too we have nothing to be ashamed of, and in many cases we have reason to feel highly gratified. The participation of our aircrews in the "Bridge of Cooperation" international exercise, in SAR [expansion unknown] exercises abroad, and in joint Polish-Czech-Hungarian gunnery exercises on the Ustka Firing Range, as well as the exchange of observers at exercises, visits by American and French aircrews to Polish airfields and by Polish aircrews to the West, and also numerous visits by high-ranking air force commanders from the Western countries to the exercise areas of our units (e.g., DOL [expansion unknown] Goleniow), demonstrate that cooperation in training is developing properly.

[Gomolka] It is said that our military training system prepares a generalist cadre instead of high-class specialists in particular fields (as in the West). Will that remain so? What will the cadre training process for the Air Forces be like?

[Pietrzak] It seems that our traditional training model does not deserve to be viewed as entirely negative. The training of military school graduates to perform "all objectives" does not conflict with the training of high-class specialists in particular domains. A flaw in our training system, as compared with the system followed in the West, is that it takes a longer time to attain the expected level of knowledge and skills needed for the complete involvement of the specialist in performing his service duties. Undoubtedly this is adding to the training cost. On the other hand, a positive aspect of our system for training graduates has so far been the possibility of gaining a broader view on the problems to be solved, through the prism of wider-ranging knowledge and, thanks to this, the possibility of taking unorthodox decisions.

The new training system allows for the needs and requirements posed to graduates assuming their first service posts in military units. It does not relinquish their thorough general preparation. It also provides the fundamentals of specialized knowledge and the possibility of further advanced professional training within military units.

[Gomolka] What should be expected in cadre policy? Will an officer serving in an appropriate post be familiarized with the outlook? Will he know his anticipated "career road"?

[Pietrzak] No revolutionary changes are expected in cadre policy either. The reduction in the numbers of military personnel due to restructuring does not relieve commanders at all levels of the obligation of constructing models of planned cadre development. The system for evaluating the career military that has been mandatory for the last two years obligates the superior to have an interview with the subordinate, to listen to his wishes, and to inform him about the prospects for using him in the service.

I think that in the present complicated situation, and also in view of the reductions in force, it is the young, ambitious career military who work consistently and a great deal on developing their personal qualities and level of knowledge that have the greatest chances. I have repeatedly drawn attention to the need for **familiarity with foreign languages, especially English.** This particular skill will be decisive to promotion to higher service positions.

Every officer is and will continue to be notified about the outlook for his further utilization in the service. Any deviations from this rule are incidental, I firmly believe.

[Gomolka] Will a specific model of the personal qualities of an Air Forces officer be defined, or shall individual superiors interpret it on their own?

[Pietrzak] The framework of such a model is defined by the manuals of rules, cadre regulations, and other instructions regulating the course of military service. It appears that such a model should not be too specific or exaggeratedly precise.

Superiors at various levels are obligated to train and shape their subordinates. They cannot be deprived of this privilege by too strict a definition of an ideal model of personal qualities.

[Gomolka] General, how do you view the road to the development of capable and trained commanders-pilots?

[Pietrzak] The opportunities that exist for young and ambitious officers who work hard to develop their personal qualities, also (and perhaps even in particular) apply to pilots. I firmly believe that new equipment, new multipurpose aircraft, will become part of the air-force units, and that the pilots will command these units.

Training cooperation with the armies of other countries is developing, and this poses new requirements to pilots-commanders, animators of training. Only the best individuals with a broad general educational and professional background who know the English language can cope with the requirements that will be posed to candidates for aviation commanders at tactical and tactical-operational levels.

[Gomolka] The existing financial regulations concerning flight personnel who for various reasons cease to fly but remain in the military do not quite satisfy pilots.

[Pietrzak] Yes that is an unsolved problem of long duration. The High Command is trying out various approaches and making various proposals to resolve it. but so far satisfactory financial provisions cannot be made under the existing regulations for quite a few persons holding—often after many years of air service—positions in commands and staffs at various levels, persons whose experience and knowledge benefits the entire military. This concerns many officers holding various posts. I myself exist in a similar situation.

[Gomolka] This year, as part of the restructuring, plans exist to disband or reduce certain units of the Air Forces. This raises many questions. Will it not reduce the combat capability of the military?

[Pietrzak] Of course, it will! It just is not possible to maintain the same indicators of combat efficiency when operating the existing types of equipment while at the same time reducing it in quantity and reducing the numbers of the personnel servicing it. That is why the restructuring plans developed by the Air Forces High Command provide for gradual retirement of old equipment and its successive replacement; this will serve to avert a sudden decline in the potential of the Air Defense system. By November 1995 the air forces are planned to consist of 52,000 personnel compared with about 56,000 at present and, among other things, about 40 MiG-21 aircraft will be retired.

It is estimated that the restructuring changes planned for 1995 will reduce the indicator of combat effectiveness of the troops by about 7-10 percent.

[Gomolka] Will room for the young well-trained cadre be found in other garrisons, as suited to their specializations?

[Pietrzak] I repeat what I said about the opportunities for young, capable, well-trained cadre. An additional condition for success in the service is complete availability. Any soldier having the desired qualities who does not make further service contingent on assignment to any one particular garrison should have no reason to fear. I am basing my comment on statistics. The percentage of positions staffed in the various corps amounts to about 88 percent in the officer corps, 86 percent in the warrant officer corps, and about 60 percent in the noncommissioned officer corps. Restructuring will result in cadre shortages that in some garrisons may even be extensive; for example in Powidz the vacancies reach about 160; in Poznan 90; and in Miroslawiec, more than 40. But there also will be other garrisons where a substantial part of the cadre (chiefly in the rank of colonels and lieutenant colonels) may not find employment.

We assume that young officers will not be transferred to the reserves, with the exception of those who will not want to leave "unpromising" garrisons and transfer to other units.

[Gomolka] Can the cadre leaving for the reserve while still of so-called able-bodied age count on assistance from the Air Forces High Command in adjusting to civilian life?

[Pietrzak] Yes, the cadre can count on such assistance. A position within the command has been established for the commander's representative for cadre retraining. The officer holding that position cooperates with the Office of the Commissioner for Retraining under the Ministry of National Defense in providing assistance to the cadre.

The forms of assistance offered include various kinds of retraining courses, practica, job internships, counseling, job placement, and promotion of employment. In the years 1993-94 some 380 career military availed themselves of this assistance.

A growing role in assisting this group of cadre is played by the Foundation for Active Assistance to the Career Military in the Reserve (FAR), which attends to, among other thing, sponsoring the opening of new businesses. Here mention should be made of the priority granted in purchasing surplus military property.

I wish to emphasize that whatever the version of restructuring planned by the WLOP High Command, priority is given to concern for human resources. Organizational changes, which engender painful and burdensome problems, necessitate developing and presenting to the cadre variants of solutions satisfying it.

Committee for Scientific Research Finances

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25 Mar 95 No 12, p 20

[Article by Ewa Nowakowska: "The Paymaster of Brains. The Scientific Research Committee Has Been Under Vehement Attack by the Research Community From the Very Beginning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In 1993, Aleksander Wolszczan, an astronomer from Torun who works in America, became the recipient of the first-ever prize of the Polish Science Foundation, the "Polish Nobel Prize." Two years earlier, a radio telescope for the M. Kopernik University in Torun had ranked No. 1 on the list of investment projects of the KBN [Scientific Research Committee]. A KBN proponent commented on this unequivocally: "They have hit the bull's eye twice without fail! Professor Wolszczan currently enjoys great renown throughout the world and is considered a Nobel Prize candidate. As far as the radio telescope in Torun, which is one of the most up-to-date in our part of the world, it has already been integrated into the worldwide network of research programs, and Wolszczan's followers have access to equipment which he could only use abroad." Nor did a sworn opponent of the KBN have any doubt: "This is a string of blunders! Does our country really lack good scientists who, having obtained the $10,000 prize, could serve it even better? As far as the radio telescope is concerned, it is an investment project which is not only beyond our means but also has awful origins: It is a communist project which was started as early as the 1980's."*

Just as does anyone else who is a paymaster, the KBN has evoked powerful and extreme emotions in the scientific community from the very beginning. Beneficiaries of the new flows of funding have taken the side of fervent proponents of the committee. Those who unsuccessfully applied for grants or learned that their establishments were ranked within the lowest category have taken places in the ranks of frustrated scoffers. Naturally, such a division is superficial and incomplete. In between the enthusiasts and the die-hard opponents are those who are asking difficult questions; most of them are, obviously, about the coffers. Funds from the initially abundant KBN coffers (the plan for this year called for 14.37 trillion old zlotys) are distributed at many levels and stages. The stream of funds from the budget turns into little trickles which flow through the hands of various people. The funds that reach the community do not make it possible to spread its wings. Skeptics are asking: Are the funds diverted along the way? Do the new rules for the distribution of funds breed new distortions?

Such apprehensions have mounted in recent days when the KBN, whose management and structure have survived three parliaments, four governments, and five prime ministers, became a political office and was "granted" to the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] within the Jozef Oleksy government. Some of the more talkative politicians from this party do not conceal the fact that they are interested only in the coffers and not in science policy (Ireneusz Skubis: "I am a politician, and I am not ashamed to say: He who has the coffers governs. Meanwhile, there are trillions in the coffers.") Therefore, questions about the balance in the coffers, criteria for distribution, and potential for manipulation are very timely.

...and Dive Into the Bush

Professor Witold Karczewski, the outgoing KBN chairman, said: "In distributing funds from the budget, we were guided by the principle of meritocracy: The best should get as much as possible while the others should look for funding elsewhere." Dr. Jan Krzysztof Frackowiak, the secretary, attaches the greatest significance to the transparency of the new system for funding science: "We publish all data so that anyone can verify who got the money, how much of it, and for what. The KBN disbursements are transparent."

It was surely because of such transparency that Professor Lukasz A. Turski (physicist, the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences]) became convinced that "the KBS [Applied Research Commission] pursues a 'scorched-earth' policy well known from the times of the People's Republic of Poland: Grab what you can and dive back into the bush." The professor demands that this commission be eliminated and that applied research be financed through the economy (personally, he is into basic research). For his part, Professor Andrzej Zabicki (chemist, PAN) observed that some scientists elected to the KBN have given grants to themselves. Should these individuals be taking part in the competition at all? Professor Zbigniew R. Grabowski (chemist, PAN) noted a pronounced resistance to sending projects abroad for review. Professor Janusz Tazbir (historian, PAN) has tracked down the duplication of a topic by four centers: "A narrow circle could have selected a single center which would have done it most confidently."

Apart from such "work-related accidents," it is the centralization of funding that prejudices the community the most. Professor Andrzej Wyczanski (historian, PAN), deputy chairman and PAN learned secretary, said: "This is impermissible." He is seconded by PAN Chairman Professor Leszek Kuznicki (biologist, PAN): "I have been talking for years about the need to break the monopoly of the KBN over the administration of funds by establishing a network of specialized agencies and foundations. At present, the minister of finance happens to be the person on whom the condition of Polish science hinges."

Meanwhile, shortly after the creation of the KBN its chairman said in an interview given to POLITYKA: "The need to maintain the entire bureaucracy which distributes the stream of funding for science is a burden to us. Our dream is for foundations and agencies to emerge to which we will transfer funds and grant complete autonomy, for example, in managing research on solid state physics or heart disease. Once they emerge the KBN will decentralize very quickly" (1992, No. 8). At present, Professor Karczewski admits: "This has not worked out! There are hard-to-overcome legislative obstacles on the path to agencies. Foundations not only failed to live up to the hopes, but some of them, to put it mildly, have gone in a reprehensible direction...."

This is not to say that centralization is necessarily bad. It was due to centralization that the KBN has been able to carry out large, high-priority investment projects in the area of infrastructure, for example, the introduction of computer technology in science. The NASK academic network for computer communications has been developing; the number of its users has already topped 60,000 at more than one-half of the country's colleges and in about 150 institutes. The MAN metropolitan computer networks are being formed at 11 academic centers in which fast computers linked to worldwide networks operate (they already exist at six centers). There is no need to argue that the computer infrastructure is one of the basic conditions for keeping up with world science. Jan K. Frackowiak assured us that "good establishments already have equipment which they do not have to be ashamed of."

Category D

While the centralization of the science budget remains a bone of contention, an overwhelming majority in the community is of the same mind with regard to a competitive system for seeking funds for research projects (grants) and for maintaining scientific establishments which has been in use for 4 years. The system which evoked unfavorable emotions at first is now viewed as a success even by people who do not conceal that they were opposed to setting up the KBN (for example, Professor Leszek Kuznicki): "Undoubtedly, the development of a ranking of establishments and the introduction of grants are accomplishments of the committee!"

Professor Marian Grynberg (physicist, the University of Warsaw) said: "The meager funds which were previously divided 'in equal parts' go to the best due to grants and the rest eliminate themselves by submitting poor projects for assessment."

I will recall that the science community was shocked after the results of the first ranking were published (it did not include colleges). Seven establishments of the Polish Academy of Sciences and 74 other so-called research and development facilities ended up in Category D. At the time, the conviction prevailed that both these establishments and Category C which was one notch higher (4 and 73, respectively) were condemned to unavoidable elimination, Category B (20 and 68)—to a slow decline, and A (52 and 55)—to vegetation "within the parameters of biological survival." Belonging to Category D had connotations so trivial that, out of respect for decency, the lowest-ranked group of establishment was soon called "not categorized."

A different thing happened. Just over a dozen establishments have been technically liquidated so far as a result of the new financial system. The status of those remaining varies greatly—from vegetation on the wane to entirely decent revenues. Many institutes are doing well due to orders for design, implementation, and similar work secured on the market, despite still having no scientific accomplishments and receiving no funds from the budget. During the latest classification (see the box next to this) not a single PAN establishment seeking funding ended up in the lowest category. As many PAN establishments ended up in the highest category as there were JBR's, or research institutes which are agencies of various economic ministries. However, 69 highest rated PAN establishments account for as much as 84 percent of all those applying for subsidies along such lines, whereas the same number of JBR's account for only 30 percent of the departmental institutes which underwent classification. Should the statutory operation of establishments engaging in implementation be financed from the science budget at all? The interested parties do not have any doubts, but looking at it from the outside, it is hard to find a justification for pumping money, actually pumping it indiscriminately, from the science budget into the economy. Should applied research not be financed solely by those who can count on profits from subsequent implementation?

Over the last four years the scientific community has become convinced that there indeed is no central distribution list from which everyone is entitled to get some funding just because he exists. The people have understood that they have to compete for funding in science. They must know how to sell their ideas most effectively. Those who can generate many convincing and attractively packaged ideas can receive subsidies from various sources. Thus, a single scientist for whom his institute is a permanent source of income may also seek a grant on an individual basis. He can join a group which works on a research project and draws on DOT (general technical operations and research support) funds. If he works at an educational institution he also has an opportunity to receive money for research from the dean out of his own system of grants.

The new system for financing science shocked those who were attached to pursuing it in the environment of official pomp and circumstance, according to a distribution list and on orders. For others, the new system became a challenge.

Professor Zbigniew R. Grabowski argues: "Grants are great opportunities for the young and talented whose names do not tell anybody anything yet. They have good ideas, they are bold, so they submit projects and get money." Professor Krzysztof Dolowy (physicist, the Main School of Rural Economy) maintains that the outcome of ranking has "awakened" many hibernating institutions. Only the loss of the feeling of security gave the people an incentive to make an effort which produced results. Professor Witold Karczewski said: "Taking into account the conservative nature of scientists, I did not expect our community to come to love the system of competitive applications for money so quickly."

Emptying the Bucket

A good system does not yet mean that all work distinguished by grants makes a revolution in Polish science and brings us closer to a Nobel Prize. We found such pearls on the list of granted subsidies as "Simulation Studies of the Emptying of a Bucket-Shaped Container," "Technology of Manufacturing Fruit Pastes for Ice Cream Production," or "Energy Budgets of Partridges." These partridges perhaps will neither a spring make in zoology nor soar with eagles when prizes are handed out in Stockholm.

However, the results of all competitions and establishment rankings to date make it possible to indicate areas of science in which we have good research potential and capable personnel. These are physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, especially the biomedical sciences. The KBN did not disregard this information. The committee put research associated with health care and environmental protection, the latest technologies (material technologies and biotechnologies), agriculture and foodstuffs handling, and the infrastructure of education on the list of the so-called priorities of Polish science policy. This means incentives for and the development of areas in which we can count on success. Will the new management of the committee continue such an orientation?

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), or the economic organization of the 25 most developed industrial states of the world, has just produced a preliminary version of a report on the Polish economy which includes extensive sections on science policy. It says that the creation of the KBN "was one of the most successful elements of the reform of science and technology funding." The authors of the report praise the principle of competitiveness in which the new system is rooted and cautions against abandoning it. At the same time, they note the need to modify the entire structure of science administration and research financing in the future.

It would be worthwhile to treat this suggestion seriously. The KBN is not a typical entity. This format of a "mixed body" which was good in a period of transitions will start outliving its usefulness as the situation becomes normal. As we proceed toward Europe we should certainly look into arrangements accepted there as models. The ministries of science and technology exist in Germany and France. In Great Britain, there is the Science and Technology Office headed by a cabinet member who has the title of the Chancellor of Lancaster County; the title is attached to the position and signifies its importance. These departments engage in strategic planning whereas the companion groups of scientists from various fields (scientific councils) are located "one floor down." The state administration entrusts to them the allocation of funds for science and the accounting for research results. This is why officials do not make decisions on matters of science, and actually it is precisely being subordinated to the bureaucracy that our scientists fear the most, being mindful of bad experience from before 1989.

The KBN has become a hot-button issue for political reasons whereas it should be such because of the significance of the field it works in. There is no way toward economic growth and the conquest of a niche in the future markets of the world other than through sensible investment in scientific research and development of technology. This is why the proven elements in the operation of the KBN which produce good results should endure, and those which are ineffective should be eliminated. The committee itself should be evolving in the direction of a regular ministry with attached representative bodies. The latter should consist of scientists designated by the scientific community as guardians of the coffers.

Results of the Latest Round of Establishment Classification

Establishments	A	B	C	Not categorized	Total
Research and development facilities	69	85	62	9	225
Polish Academy of Sciences	69	11	2	0	82
Colleges	216	249	194	143	802*
Total	354	345	258	152	1,109

* Some 802 basic establishments (departments, institutes, chairs) of 103 colleges were classified.

[Box, p 20]

The Scientific Research Committee is a supreme agency of state administration in the area of science (it has the status of a ministry). By a law of January 1991, it was entrusted with developing and implementing a science policy and allocating funds which the state budget appropriates to science annually. The committee consists of 19 persons: the chairman (a member of the Council of Ministers), the secretary (appointed on the recommendation of the chairman), five persons appointed by the prime minister from among the members of the Council of Ministers or heads of central establishments, and 12 persons from the scientific community who are selected through a general election in which all scientists with an academic degree or title vote. The 12 persons serve for three years; this group simultaneously belongs to the commissions and boards of the committee.

The Basic Research Commission (KBP) and the Applied Research Commission (KBS) form the lower organizational echelon of KBN. Each of the commissions consists of 30 elected representatives of the scientific community, five representatives of minister members of the committee, and the KBN secretary. In addition, the KBS includes seven representatives from the national economy and territorial self-government. Within each commission, there are six area sections (in the KBP [Basic Research Commission], these are, among others, humanities, law, and economic science, and in the KBS—mechanics, construction, and architecture). Each board sets up a few specialty sections.

The KBN does not manage scientific establishments and does not take administrative measures; it merely administers funding. The law on the KBN specifies six avenues for funding science from the budget. Two of them are decisive: funding for the statutory operations of units (and in-house research by colleges) and targeted subsidies, or grants. Funding for units hinges on ranking; proper commissions evaluate on an annual basis about 1,000 documented requests from college departments or institutes, research establishments of the PAN, and so-called research and development facilities (JBR's). On the average, 30 percent of them are ranked in the highest category (A). These establishments receive as much as 75 percent of the funds allocated in the science budget for statutory activities. About 30 percent are ranked as the less subsidized B category, 15 percent—as C category, and 15 percent remain without a category which entitles them to support from the budget for their operations.

Targeted subsidies, or grants, may be received for unsolicited research project proposals. Over 40,000 requests were reviewed in the course of eight competitions for grants in the years 1991-94. One in four requesters got funds to carry out the projects. The duration of projects is three years, in exceptional cases—five years. The KBN publishes lists of the allotted grants and promises to publish the accounting for projects and descriptions of their outcome.

Government Responds to Human Rights Report

AU2205172695 Paris AFP in English 1716 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bucharest, May 22 (AFP)—Amnesty International Monday [22 May] accused Romania of serious human rights violations and urged the Bucharest government to keep its pledges of tolerance.

Romania retorted saying it was "totally committed to human rights", while admitting there were "some imperfections" in its record.

The Amnesty report was deeply embarrassing to Romania, which is due to host a European conference on ethnic tolerance starting on Tuesday. The seminar was organized by the Council of Europe in cooperation with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

President Ion Iliescu is due to speak at the conference Tuesday, which will continue until May 26.

"We hope the Romanian government will do its best to make sure that all the fine words on tolerance and observance of human rights are translated into reality," Amnesty's regional director Anne Burley told a press conference here.

She said the organisation was "concerned with Romanian legislation which allows for imprisonment of prisoners of conscience."

However a spokesman for the Romanian presidency, Traian Chebeleu, told AFP: "The Romanian government is constantly striving to ensure tolerance and the observation of human rights."

While admitting there were "some imperfections", he stated that "in practice, Romania is totally committed to observing human rights".

Amnesty said it was especially worried about people being jailed for their opinions or for having homosexual relations, Burley said, adding it knew of 11 cases since 1993 of people being imprisoned for homosexuality although some were consenting adults.

A Romanian law dating from its communist past punishes homosexual acts even between consenting adults. New legislation is being drawn up which would only forbid acts in public or which caused scandal.

Amnesty also criticised the alleged torture and mistreatment of prisoners as well as police "discrimination" against Romania's gypsy minority.

"The authorities must clearly indicate they will not tolerate this situation any longer in order to stop mistreatment," she said.

Police Reject Amnesty International Accusations

AU2205204395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received a communique from the General Police Inspectorate in connection with an Amnesty International release that accuses the Romanian police of abuses against homosexuals, prisoners, and Gypsies. The police communique emphasizes that the individuals taken into custody in various police precincts in Romania enjoy all the rights envisaged by Romanian laws and international norms, including legal and medical assistance. The rumors about alleged maltreatment of people in custody have no real foundation.

Regarding the Gypsies, the communique stresses that the police have promptly intervened to prevent and put down the conflicts in which they became involved, particularly due to their antisocial behavior. Appropriate steps were taken, in keeping with the law, to punish all guilty parties, be they Romanians or Gypsies.

In conclusion, the communique categorically rejects the Amnesty International accusations, particularly since many of the cases mentioned in the mass media have been investigated and found to be not true, the communique received from the General Police Inspectorate concludes.

SPP Chief Refutes Tudor Accusations

AU2305090095 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 May 95 p 2

[Interview with Major General Dumitru Iliescu, director of the Guard and Protection Service, by Corina Dragotescu; place and date not given: "Accused by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, General Iliescu, of the Guard and Protection Service, Exculpates Himself"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dragotescu] In connection with the accusations leveled by the leader of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], Corneliu Vadim Tudor, against General Dumitru Iliescu, director of the Guard and Protection Service [SPP], who yesterday sent a letter to the Senate Standing Bureau on this matter, I turned to the general with a few questions.

Gen. Iliescu, please tell us whether there have been any misunderstandings of late between you and the individuals who signed the accusatory memorandum.

[Iliescu] I learned of this memorandum from the press. From the information available to me, I understand that the memorandum is anonymous. It would have been natural for the individuals who sent the memorandum to the PRM senator to have signed it and assumed responsibility for their allegations. Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor's attitude is surprising. As a member of the Senate's Defense and Public Order Commission, he had the right and the obligation to first check with our service on the validity of the information received—at least by telephone. [passage omitted]

[Dragotescu] Do you know Corneliu Vadim Tudor personally? Have you had any differences with him?

[Iliescu] I have never had any differences with him, until now. He enjoys protection from the SPP. You know how it goes: The one you protect from death will not let you live. It is true that he asked me for a favor, which I turned down, but I do not think that this is the reason for his behavior. He asked me to promote one of our employees—who was ensuring his protection—to the rank of officer, thus skipping over the rank of noncommissioned officer. However, the respective individual does not fulfill the requirements for such an exception.

[Dragotescu] When did he ask you for this favor?

[Iliescu] Before the SPP anniversary day—that is, on 7 May. He came personally to ask for this favor, first with me and then with my first deputy, General Aradavoaicei.

Communique Notes 'Demolition' of SPP Chief

AU2305085795 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 May 95 p 3

[Article by Cristian Vultureanu: "Who Means Harm to Major General Dumitru Iliescu, Director of the Guard and Protection Service?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The press bureau of the Guard and Protection Service [SPP] yesterday issued a communique in connection with the accusations leveled by Cornel Vadim Tudor [president of the Greater Romania Party, PRM] against Major General Dumitru Iliescu, director of the Guard and Protection Service:

"The SPP leadership has taken note of the serious accusations made against its director by Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor at the 15 May plenary session of Romania's Senate.

"The allegations made are not true and until the situation is clarified, they can do moral prejudice to the authority and prestige of our institution.

"One can hardly understand the facility with which the senator has made public certain information contained in an anonymous memorandum received on that very day, without making a minimal effort to check whether that information is correct—all the more so as he is a member of the Defense, Public Order, and National Security Commission of the Senate.

"To reestablish the truth and correctly inform the public at large, the SPP leadership demands that each accusation be examined in detail, and the conclusions reached should be operatively presented in Romania's Senate.

"We express our full readiness to put at the disposal of the authorized bodies all necessary data and documents that can contribute to elucidating the situation in the spirit of objectivity and truth.

"In connection with the serious accusations made in the Senate plenum, the SPP leadership has sent a letter to the Senate Standing Bureau with answers to these unfounded accusations and has asked that all necessary steps be taken to reply to the senator's allegations.

"We assure the public at large and the institutions of the law-governed state that we have always acted legally in all our activities and that we will continue to do our duty in accordance with our prerogatives stipulated by law."

The Public Accounts Court has carried out checks of the SPP's financial activity in 1992, 1993, and 1994. It uncovered many irregularities—about which nothing was done at the time, given the relationship between Maj. Gen. Dumitru Iliescu and President Ion Iliescu.

Nevertheless, the president was informed about all of Gen. Iliescu's affairs. As in "the Pancea case" [General Marin Pancea, accused of corruption] some time ago, Ion Iliescu let it be understood that the scams are too many to be tolerated any further, and he gave green light for the start of an enquiry.

Until further orders, the demolition of Gen. Iliescu has the full backing of President Ion Iliescu, who is aware of and fed up with all the swindles of the SPP director. As on other occasions in the past, the government resorted to Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the "PDSR's Doberman."

Union Leaders Ask Iliescu To 'Dismiss' Cabinet

AU2205190995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting took place at Cotroceni Palace today, in the presence of Romanian President Ion Iliescu, between the leaders of the five big trade union organizations—Alfa Cartel, Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions of Romania [CSDR], National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania [CNSRL]-Fratia, National Trade Union Bloc [BNS], and Convention of Non-Affiliated Trade Union Confederations (CCSN]—and a governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, which also included the ministers of finance, labor, and social protection and the head of the Department for Relations With the Trade Unions and Employers.

At the end of the dialogue, the participants in the meeting handed over to the Romanian head of state a letter with the reasons for their request to dismiss the government, after which they made statements to the press. Thus, CSDR Chairman Victor Ciorbea said that, in the opinion of the trade union leaders, the government's dismissal is necessary and useful but not sufficient, since the current parliamentary majority is equally to be blamed for the current state of affairs. We want structural—not cosmetic—changes. We want a new cabinet, with a new government program and with another electoral and parliamentary basis, Victor Ciorbea said.

In his turn, Bogdan Hosu, chairman of Alfa Cartel TU Confederation, said that President Ion Iliescu declined his competence in the matter of dismissing the governmental team and asked instead that a mediation attempt be made within a week. Regarding the social issues under discussion, Hosu said that Iliescu expressed his readiness to contribute to solving all problems under discussion and asked for clear proposals on completing the relevant legislation. Likewise, the head of state made several proposals on the salary system and suggested that the wages of enterprise managers be limited and that the change of the wage system observe several principles that would entail a true revolution in this sphere.

In his statement to the press, State Secretary Octavian Partenie, head of the Department for Relations With the Trade Unions and Employers, said that there are differences that will probably remain for a while, but that there is also a common willingness from both the trade unions and the government to continue the dialogue and work out a program for 1995 that will facilitate the achievement of our goals in the sphere of living standards and of average wages in government-owned and autonomous companies, as well as in the sphere of correlating wages with the economic results achieved.

Following today's meeting at Cotroceni Palace, which was considered as a first discussion, the sides decided to hold a new meeting within approximately one week, a meeting that should concretely tackle each subject under discussion, our correspondent reports.

Iliescu Refuses

AU2205203995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received the following communique from Romania's presidency:

President Ion Iliescu today received the delegations of several nationwide trade union organizations headed by their leaders: the Alfa Cartel National Trade Union Confederation, the Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions of Romania [CSDR], the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania [CNSRL]-Fratia, the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS], and the Convention of Non- Affiliated Trade Union Confederations (CCSN]. At the president's invitation, the government was represented by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu; the ministers of finance, labor, and social protection; the government's secretary general; the head of the Department for Relations With Trade Unions and Employers; and other officials.

Before starting the discussions proper, Mr. Bogdan Hosu, president of Alfa Cartel, backed by other trade unions present, handed the president a document that cast doubts on the government's credibility as a social partner in its relation with the trade unions and demands that the cabinet be replaced; at the same time, the trade unions pledge to sign a social pact.

The presidential communique emphasizes that this document has become the first subject of discussion. The president assessed the document contents as subjective and stressed that the difficult problems facing us have mainly objective causes; consequently, any government would have to cope with the same hardships. In his speech, the president said that the government's activity has been marked by a number of failures, too. However, the head of state stressed that, aside from the fact that changing the government is not one of the president's prerogatives, to do this at this point—that is, about one and a half years before the elections—would not solve anything. Moreover, it would primarily lead to further delays and even to a temporary blockage of the reform process, thus prolonging the duration of the transition.

A good part of the talks focused on the provisions of Emergency Ordinance No. 1. Several trade union leaders said they feel the respective ordinance is unconstitutional and that it limits the possibilities of increasing wages and affects the autonomy of government-owned and autonomous companies. The representatives of the government emphasized the economic reasons behind that ordinance, saying that the first prerequisite for a healthy national economy is to observe a strict correlation between the level of wages and the performance of enterprises, particularly as far as labor productivity is concerned. At the same time, they pointed out that recent economic developments offer possibilities for meeting certain trade union claims. This was stated during today's discussions: namely, that the real salary this year should be 65 percent of the salary in October 1990.

The president said that the arguments brought forward do not attest to the unconstitutionality of the ordinance; nor do they mean that the negotiations are hampered or the possibilities for wage increases are limited. However, these increases must be justified economically, on the basis of greater labor productivity and economic efficiency.

The talks emphasized the opportuneness of the laws on a collective labor contract, which are being discussed in Parliament commissions and the Social and Economic Council and which were recently forwarded to the Parliament. In this respect, Romania's president said that the natural dialogue between the trade unions and government has occasionally known some setbacks; consequently, he expressed his readiness to become involved in setting up a mechanism for mutual consultation and information.

The communique also points out that the trade union leaders truly appreciated the president's concerns with improving the ratio between wages and prices; limiting exaggeratedly high wages and markedly increasing small ones; ensuring a balanced proportion between salaries in various fields of activity, including those paid from the state budget; and limiting permanent and occasional wage increments and surpluses, which sometimes exceed the basic salary two or three times.

The trade union leaders appreciated the atmosphere of dialogue and the readiness of the head of state to find solutions to the problems raised. Many of the trade union leaders asked for future meetings with the president, in order to examine problems specific to certain spheres and trade union confederations. These requests were accepted in principle, the communique received from the presidency reads, in conclusion.

Federal

Deputy Prime Minister: Sanctions Are 'Genocidal'

AU2205191595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 May 95

[Report by Aleksa Djuric]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government will use all means to defend the stability of prices and the exchange rate of the dinar, which are priorities in the economic policy this year. This was stated, among other things, by Federal Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic at a seminar in Novi Sad devoted to adjustment of our companies to open market conditions. Let us hear a report by our Novi Sad Radio colleague Aleksa Djuric:

[Djuric] Opening the seminar and greeting the participants on behalf of the organizers—the Economic Chambers of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Vojvodina, and the Novi Sad Institute for Industrial Systems—Professor Dragutin Zelenovic warned that we face an economic occupation that is already being carried out in eastern Europe by the creators of the new world order. We must prepare ourselves well for the lifting of the sanctions, especially because our people could not accept anything but equal cooperation with Europe and the world, Zelenovic stressed.

Taking part in the work of the seminar, Federal Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic first mentioned that the main causes of our economic and social difficulties were the disintegration of the previous Yugoslavia and the introduction of unjust and genocidal sanctions. The total damage in our country in the past five years is estimated to be $147 billion, Zebic said.

The adoption of the stabilization program put a stop to these negative trends last year, he said, adding that these results form the basis of the economic policy for this year.

[Begin Zebic recording] The realization of these goals implies the maintenance of stable conditions for conducting business and at the same time preparations in all sectors for our inclusion in international currents, the sooner the better, especially after the lifting of the economic blockade, which we think will happen soon. The main task of our economic policy this year, which represents the continuity of the economic policy of last year, is therefore the development of a market-based economic system and the realization of the following aims that are linked to one another: the stability of prices and the currency, the intensification of economic activities, improvements in the standard of living, structural changes, and ownership transformation. These are the main components. The prime objective of our policy in 1995 is to maintain the stability of prices and the dinar exchange rate with all means. [end recording]

[Djuric] Zebic then spoke about both positive and negative economic trends in the first quarter of this year. Industrial production in the first four months of this year rose by 14 percent in comparison with the same period last year. Prices in April rose by 8.2 percent in relation to March. They have risen some 40 percent since June last year. Money supply has been retained at its December level and amounts to 2.54 billion dinars. Public expenditure, which should not exceed 49.5 percent this year, was reduced by four percent in April in comparison with the previous month. Salaries must follow the increase in production. After the unjustified rise at the end of last year, real salaries in April fell by two percent. The Yugoslav average in that month was 202 dinars.

The return of our economy to the world market requires the development of the economic system, and the government is already working on various measures and laws, Federal Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic said at the end.

The seminar on adjustment of our companies for appearance on open markets will last until Thursday [25 May].

'Krusik' Military Equipment Supplier Described

AU2005153795 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 95 p 6

[Article by Jovan Zaric: "Catching Up With the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Krusik" holding company of Valjevo is one of the most important manufacturers of weapons and military equipment in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but it does not have a competitor on the domestic market for the other items it produces. Despite the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, this large company, which consists of 20 stock companies, has succeeded in retaining its specialists, the utilization level of its manufacturing capacities, as well as the quality of its products. What is more, new technologies have been mastered and the variety of products expanded.

"Our company is one of the main and largest suppliers of the Army of Yugoslavia for military and other equipment," said Miladin Ciric, manager of the "Krusik" Department for Military Equipment Manufacturing.

"Apart from that, we also manufacture many articles (various devices and the like) for the free market," he added.

The representatives of "Krusik" explained the company's work to many journalists last week and said that they were preparing a comprehensive manufacturing program for the future. They said that the manufacturing process strictly complied with international quality standards (ISO 9000 from 1987), which was also declared the Yugoslav national standard in 1991 under the name JUSISO 9000/91.

Importance of Quality

In the former Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, "Krusik" manufactured half of the military equipment for the whole country and was at the same time a very important exporter. After the secession of the former Yugoslav republics, "Krusik" mastered the technology and manufacturing of equipment that used to be manufactured in the breakaway republics. This has enabled it to supply the Yugoslav Army with almost all of its military and technical items.

"Krusik" manufactures rocket missiles for the Air Force and Air Defense, weapons for antiarmor combat vehicles, as well as ammunition and special equipment for destruction purposes, for the land forces. For the Navy, it manufactures equipment for sabotage activities and for mine detection in the mine fields. Apart from that, it manufactures the basic equipment and weapons for all army units.

It is claimed in "Krusik" that the quality of all the products is the same or even better than the same products manufactured abroad, since some big countries have bought the equipment they manufacture themselves from "Krusik," as is the case with mortars shells, for example.

The so-called free market program of this factory includes the manufacturing of textile machines, various batteries, lamps for railroads and mines, water-pipe fittings, precision castings, various plastic pipes, springs for various industries, many kinds of tools, and various supplies for other branches of industry.

New Products

Colonel Vladimir Vucetic, one of the designers, told us that new technologies had been mastered too.

The new, promising program includes the manufacturing of fuses with delayed instantaneous ignition. The manufacturing of a modern 12-mm mine, which according to its technology corresponds to international trends, is being tested at the moment.

The test manufacturing of 82-mm mortars is also being planned. The advantages of this mortar compared to existing types are manifold. It is 15 percent lighter; it has a longer barrel, and what is very important, the base does not sink when the mortar is activated. All kinds of mines are manufactured for this mortar type, which is twice as efficient as the older types. Its range is also considerably greater. There is also a new 600-mm mortar, the properties of which are exceptional: Its range and efficiency have been enhanced 50 percent.

Sveta Sretenovic, one of the "Krusik" managers, says that this company also produces exceptionally modern and efficient hand grenades for "Zolja" and "Oca" bazookas [names as transliterated], intended for the destruction of all armored vehicles and other military equipment.

He says that the manufacturing of electric detonators for strip and deep mining, as well as mines with methane gas development, should start soon. Apart from that, "Krusik" has delivered new systems for antihail defense on the market, new universal launchers for antihail rockets and new, more modern antihail rockets.

[Box, p 6]

Personnel

"Krusik" employs: 274 employees with a university degree, 173 employees with a two-year college education, 875 with secondary school education, 10 masters of sciences, and one doctor of science. The great majority of workers are highly skilled and qualified.

Military Industry Union Threatens Strike

AU2205091295 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 95 p 11

[Article by "M.N.": "'Zastava' Demands That the Debts Be Paid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the strike in the Pancevo Utva plant and in anticipation of tomorrow's talks on military production at the Serbian Ministry of Industry, the union of the "Zastava" Specified-Purpose Production DOO [probably limited liability compnay] from Kragujevac officially made their requests public yesterday. The union set an eight-day deadline for the responsible parties in the government and the army to solve the status of this plant.

Noting the extremely great problems faced by this industry—the lack of a market and the fact that several hundred workers were on unpaid leave at the end of last year and there are now several thousand—the union of "Zastava" requests that the National Bank of Yugoslavia pay the debts to the Kragujevac plant. At the same time, they are demanding financial aid in the form of loans and privileges in order to fulfill the program and to conclude the agreements relating to it. They are demanding this aid for the whole duration of the sanctions.

Regarding the lack of buyers for the current programs, as one can see from their official requests, "Zastava" demands that the "artillery" or "Travnik" program be restarted in a week's time. Otherwise, they threaten, they will strike. Calling for the responsibility of the competent federal and republican organs, the union of the "Zastava" plant recalls the fact that, on the credit side of their account, the outstanding debts they are owed amount to over $10 million, but, at the same time, they have to pay their taxes to the state immediately.

Serbia

Shelter Provided for Western Slavonia Refugees

LD2205162695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian Refugee Commissioner Bratislava Morina told TANJUG on Monday that 2,174 refugees from western Slavonia had found shelter in reception centres and health care institutions in Serbia.

Morina said refugees included women, children, pregnant women, the ill, the elderly and the wounded, who fled western Slavonia in face of Croatia's aggression on this part of Serb Krajina on May 1-2.

The Serbian refugee commissioner office has also provided health care and relief aid in food, medicine, clothing and footwear for more than 4,000 refugees from this region who have chosen to be accommodated in eastern Slavonia, eastern Serb Krajina, she said.

Mayor of Vukovar, center of eastern Slavonia, Slavko Dokmanovic said Monday that about 4,300 refugees from western Slavonia had so far arrived in eastern Slavonia, and said the majority of them intended to settle there.

Morina said the accommodation of refugees from western Slavonia had been the result of successful cooperation between the Serbian refugee commissioner and relevant Serb Krajina and Bosnian Serb bodies.

She said more than 300 tonnes of food, medicine, clothing and footwear had been sent to the republic of Serb Krajina as aid to refugees accommodated there.

Sandzak SDA Briefs Foreign Officials on Abuses

AU2205194895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Swedish, Finnish, and Czech Embassies in Belgrade met with representatives of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Sandzak in Novi Pazar on 19 May and discussed the Sandzak Bosniaks' political demands and the consistent abuse of human rights and liberties in the region, the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak has reported.

During the talks, particular attention was devoted to the situation in culture, economy, education, health care, and human rights abuse in Sandzak. Also stressed was the issue of the information blockade and [words indistinct] of national institutions in Sandzak. It was particularly stressed that the issue of Sandzak should be put on the agenda of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia in Geneva as soon as possible. The envoys were asked to see that their governments [words indistinct] to pressure the Belgrade authorities, thus allowing the return of all expelled persons and the release of all party activists found guilty during staged trials in Novi Pazar and Bijelo Polje.

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